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1801 A *Lyndell*
L E T T E R

T O

Dr. *WATERLAND*;

Containing some REMARKS on his

Vindication of Scripture:

In Answer to a B O O K, intituled,

Christianity as Old as the Creation.

Together with

The S K E T C H or P L A N

O F

Another Answer to the said B O O K.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. PEELE, at *Locke's-Head* in *Amen-
Corner.* M D C C X X X I.

(Price One Shilling.)



A
 L E T T E R
 T O
 Dr. *WATERLAND*.

S I R,

I HAVE lately read a *Piece of yours*, called, *Scripture Vindicated, in answer to a Book, intituled, Christianity as old as the Creation*. I sat down to it, I confess, with some kind of eagerness; expecting from the great reputation of your name, as well as the great importance of the subject, to find in it something solid and convincing, answerable to the difficulty of the task you had undertaken, of reconciling *all the exceptionable passages of Scripture* to reason and morality.

But I had not entered far, before I perceived the vanity of my expectation, and foresaw the disappointment I was like to suffer in my hopes of entertainment and satisfaction

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from a work, which partly from its own nature, but especially from your method of handling it, seems calculated rather to raise *new scruples*, than to quiet *old ones*; and to expose the *Scripture you are vindicating* to fresh ridicule and contempt, than to convince either the *Author* you have to deal with, or any others of *sceptical* and *unsettled* minds: the reasons of which opinion I shall without further preface or ceremony proceed to explain to you very freely.

Your *Introduction* begins by opening to us the design of the *Author* you are confuting; telling us, that *his book is a declamatory libel against revealed Religion, under colour of setting up natural Religion in its place*; that he discovers in it *two principal ends*; the one, to vilify the *holy Scripture*; the other, to magnify the *law of Nature*: In the first, you own he deals *frankly and from his heart*; in the latter, you charge him with hypocrisy and dissimulation; assuring us, that all he says is *but sham*, and that in reality he is no more a friend to *Natural Religion* than he is to *Revealed*.

This you support by declaring that *Natural Religion is so bound up in Revealed, that they cannot subsist separately; must stand or fall together*; and consequently, *if he had been a friend to one, it is not conceivable how he could be an adversary to the other*.

But this, Sir, I'm afraid will make but little impresson on your adversary ; will pass with him for *meer begging the question* ; meer words without weight or consequence ; or what's still worse, will, when examined, be found to be false : for had not *Natural Religion* a subsistence before *Christianity* was ever known to the world ? and did not many by its sole influence attain to such an exalted degree of virtue, as few or none have ever since arrived at ? and at this very day in *Mahometan and Idolatrous Nations*, where *Christianity* has no influence, is it not necessary to imagine, that there are many, who by the *meer light of Reason* see thro' the cheat of the *popular Religion*, and by its help form to themselves some other more rational rule of life and manners ? and lastly, in our own as well as other *Christian* countries, however *inconceivable* it may be to you, yet all who know any thing of the world, will easily *conceive*, and actually find it a very common case, to meet with men who with little or no regard for *Revealed Religion*, yet express both by words and actions a great reverence for *Natural* ; of which number *your Author*, for any thing I know, or you have said to the contrary, may possibly be one : for since in every part of his work he professes a very *high notion* of the excellency of *Reason, Truth and Virtue* ; professes to believe *a God, a Providence, a future state* ; both reason and

charity oblige us to look upon him as sincere, till we are forced to think otherwise by some particular knowledge or information of his real life and character.

But no thanks, you tell us, are due, to persons for commending *Virtue*, which all the world admires, and envy itself must praise, and which even its enemies are forced to pay a reverence and veneration to. Now is not this a little inconsistent, to charge men with a design to overthrow what themselves, and all the world besides, must necessarily admire and pay a veneration to? and tho' their reverence, as you say, is but an *aukward one*, and what they are forced to against their wills; yet is it possible to entertain a thought of destroying what the *nature and necessity of things* force them to reverence? What you mean by an *aukward reverence*, I don't well understand; but am certain, that if *aukwardness* be a mark of insincerity, then *Orthodoxy* must needs be undone, since I know none who pay *their reverence so aukwardly* as some of its principal champions.

You next explain the purpose of your own work; designed, you say, *to rescue the word of God from misrepresentation and censure, from the reproaches and blasphemies of foolish men*: and 'tis matter of melancholy consideration to You, that there should be found men so abandoned and profligate, as to shut their eyes against light; affront God to his face; take a pride in
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throwing him back his favours. But how melancholy soever this consideration may be, we ought not still, it seems, to be *shocked or scandalized* at it, for two reasons. First, because it was prophesied, *that there should come scoffers in the last days*; yet all the instances you give are of such as came in the *first days*. Secondly, because *it is certainly known with what views, and upon what motives they do it,* being all an abandoned and profligate set of men; taking a pride in affronting God to his face; whose affections are corrupt, whose deeds evil; the secret of whose counsels is to steel mens hearts against a judgment to come, and lead them blindfold into Hell; whose real and only aim is to reduce the laws of God to the lusts and passions of men; to shake off all religious restraints, that they may be at liberty to follow their pleasures, &c.

But this, good Doctor, to speak freely, is not reasoning but railing; or, to use your own words ^a, *shews more of a disposition to revile, than to argue and debate*; and till 'tis supported by facts and proofs sufficient to convince men of sense, will always pass with such for the crude and senseless cant of Bigots, the common-place stuff of declamatory Preachers: for every man, who has practised the world, and used the conversation of men of letters, must needs have met with many persons of

much seeming honour, virtue, and sobriety of life, who partly *profess to have scruples*, partly an *entire disbelief of all Revelation*: and what way, think you, is the most likely to convince men of this character? Is it possible to work any good upon them by the method you here take; by telling them that they are *profligate and abandoned, contemnners of God, and enemies to Man*? Is not such treatment sure to have a contrary effect? and being conscious to themselves, that your charge upon them is both *false and malicious*, instead of considering *your book*, as a *charitable attempt* to recover a soul from ruin, they will reject it with scorn, as an *infamous and scandalous libel*.

After this general charge on all who *cavil at Scripture*, you descend to fix it more particularly on the *Author* you have to do with: this you do, first, by citing *two passages* from *some private letters*, as you call them; signifying that the intention of the writer of them was *to save a soul from the dismal apprehensions of eternal damnation; or from the uneasiness of mind which he is often under when pleasure and Christianity come in competition*. What *Letters* these are I know not, but presume, that you have reason to know the *Author of them* to be the *Author* likewise of the book you are confuting; or else with what sense or justice can you impute to *one man* what *another* has said or written? but you add
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immediately, *this is the noble and generous aim which the Writer I am concerned with boasts of in his Preface.* This indeed is charging him home with the *same sentiments*; if he not only avows them, but *boasts of them*: for who could collect or imagine any thing less from your words? but I was much surprized, when consulting his *Preface* on the occasion, I could not find a syllable of the *letters or passages* just mentioned, nor any sentiments at all like them, but the mention only of a *noble and generous design*, in having, as he imagined, contrived rules to distinguish between *Religion and Superstition*. Such a disingenuous way of forming an indictment must needs appear odious not only to the *enemies*, but much more to the *friends* of a Religion, which prohibits so severely all *rash censure*; prescribes the *utmost candour and charity* towards all men, and will not bear a *railing accusation* even against the *Devil* himself.

From charging him with *other peoples* sentiments, you come at last to convict him by *his own*: telling us, that *he gives broad hints in one place, that he looks upon incontinence in single persons as one of the rights allowed by the Law of Nature.* If by incontinence he means, what you seem to suppose, the *cohabiting of single persons of each sex for the propagation of the species, without the intervention of a Priest, or any other formality but mutual consent*; had his hints been still broader, they are but agreeable

able to the principles he maintains; nor will he find much difficulty in defending them by the *Laws of Reason and Nature*; and I wonder how from such *hints* you can ground any imputation of *immorality* upon one, who is reasoning from those principles, from which your self must be forced to allow still a greater licence; not only a *plurality of wives*, but a *number of concubines* into the bargain; unless you will give up some part at least of the Scripture you are vindicating, and condemn the *holy Patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob*; and above all, *David, the man after God's own heart*; who had at least *seven wives*, and *ten concubines*, without ever being admonished for it by any of the *Prophets*, or censured by any of the *sacred Writers*. So that here he will probably turn your own reasoning upon you; that it is a *weak thing of you, to charge the Law of Nature as not strict enough, when your own Scripture appears to be looser*^b.

Again; you charge him with declaring flatly and plainly against our Lord's doctrine of loving those that hate us: Yet in the place you refer to, I find him arguing only, that those words are not to be taken in their *strict and literal* sense, but like many other texts of the same nature, which he there enumerates, viz. *he that takes away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also: of him who takes thy goods, ask*

them not again: whoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also, &c. must be interpreted agreeably to the *reason and nature of things*, and the *common good of society*; and that to practise them in their *obvious and grammatical sense* would occasion much mischief to the publick, much injustice to particular men: In all which, as he says nothing more than what *all Commentators and all rational Christians* allow, I cannot think it reasonable, from this instance, to charge him with seeking to *relax the Laws of Christ, to make them suit the better with corrupt Nature.*

But had he furnished no direct proofs of the *malice* you impute to him, yet your penetration, it seems, is such, as can see to the *very bottom* of him; for tho' he *studiously*, as you say, *disguises himself*, and takes great pains to put fair glosses on what he is doing, yet sometimes he discovers the *very secrets of his heart*: and tho' in the same page you allow, that *he himself best knows how far he is influenced by lust and malice*; yet in the very next words you recollect your self, and signify, that you know as well as himself, and that *'tis easy to perceive how much the black passions have got the ascendant over him.*

The conclusion of your *Introduction* is of a piece with the rest: for after declaiming against his wickedness, you conclude by contemning his learning and abilities. *His at-*

tacks, you say, are feeble, his artillery contemptible: he has no genius or taste for literature; no acquaintance with the original languages; nor so much as with common Criticks and Commentators: several of his objections are pure English objections; such as affect only our translation: the rest are of the lowest and most trifling sort, &c. And in the body of your book you go still farther, and treat him with the plain terms of *Fool and Idiot*; as having neither wit, judgment, learning, or any thing but dull malice^c.

If this be really the case, what is all this bustle about? Why all this apparatus to foil so feeble, so contemptible an adversary? Why must you be called off from the great work of defending *Creeds and Positive Precepts*, to contend with such a trifler? Why must two eminent scholars be picked out from Oxford and Cambridge, to divide the task between them, and repel with united force the despicable attacks of a pure English blunderer? All this apparatus, I say, must needs persuade us, that you have a different notion of his ability, from what you think proper to declare: and in fact, as all who talk extravagantly or insincerely are apt to betray themselves, so you in many places confute your self, and shew that these *pure English objections*, which owe their rise, as you would in-

sinuate, to the *blunders of our Translation*, deserve to be consider'd in another light; since at some times you exclaim against them as being *stale*, or *borrowed from Antiquity*; from the ancient enemies of Religion, *Celsus* and *Julian*; at other times, from our learned moderns, *Marsham* and *Burnet*, &c.^d and do not so much as in one single instance prove them to be grounded on the *mistaken sense* of the original.

For my own part, to observe our *English proverb*, and *give even the Devil his due*, I cannot for my life discover any such want of *literature* as you object to him; but on the contrary, see plainly that his work has been the effect of *much study and reading*; his materials collected from a great variety of the *best Writers*; his pages decently *crowded with citations*; and his *Index of Authors* as *numerous*, as that of most books which have lately appeared: and to tell you the truth, were it my task to answer him in the method you have chosen, by undertaking to *vindicate every single text of Scripture from all the exceptions that may be made to it*, I should be tempted to wish that he had still *less learning*, rather than *more*; since with the small share he has, one may easily foresee by the specimen you give us, that he will in many cases be at least a full match for you.

^d P. 27, 28, 55.

Thus much, Sir, for *your Introduction*; which, if it appears to others in the same light, as it did to me, will afford them but little hopes of pleasure or edification in what is to follow; but like foul weather at setting out, give a discouraging prospect of the dirt they are to travel thro' in the rest of their journey.

Let's now proceed to examine the work itself; wherein you undertake to *vindicate the most exceptionable texts of Scripture from cavil and censure*: 'This, Sir, is a hardy undertaking, and what few men of modesty or prudence would venture upon; since however it may be discharged, 'tis likely, as I've said above, from the nature of the subject itself, to do *hurt*, rather than *service*, to the cause of *Religion*; as 'tis raking into *old fires*; giving new life to *old cavils*; solving objections which you call *stale and trivial*, by answers as *stale and as trivial* too; for had these ever been satisfactory, the others could hardly have subsisted to this day. To confirm this, I shall not follow you thro' all the *texts you vindicate*, but content myself with a *few remarks* on *two or three* of the greatest importance; in the explication of which you seem to have taken the greatest pains. To begin then with your vindication of the *scriptural history of man's fall*.

The *Author* you are confuting says, it seems, that *Christians are now ashamed of the literal interpretation of this story*: * which tho' you seem disposed to treat as a *Calumny*, yet 'tis certain and undeniable, that *all Commentators* whatsoever are forced in some measure to *desert the letter*, in order to make the story *rational and credible*. You tell us, with many of them, that the *Deceiver was a real Serpent, actuated by the Devil*†; this you declare sufficient to *obviate all difficulties*, to solve all objections: yet *Moses*, you own, says not one word of the *Devil*; nor had occasion to say any thing of him; nay, that it was better he shou'd say nothing of him, because he had said nothing of him‡: but whether it were better or worse, it is certain however, that the *introducing a Devil is contrary to the letter*; which speaks only of a *proper and meer Serpent*, as the author of this deception; and suggests the reason both of the attempt and the success of it, in the *natural cunning* of that beast. For the *Serpent was more subtil than any beast of the field*; and by his subtilty, says *St. Paul*§, he deceived *Eve*; who in making her defence to God, does not plead that the *Devil*, which had been a much better excuse, but that the *Serpent deceived her*. You tell us, on another occasion, that *God accommo-*

* P. 14. † P. 15. ‡ P. 13. § 2 Cor. xi. 3.

dates his Phrases to the language of men, in order to be better understood by men: Pray tell us then, Good Sir, how he has accommodated his Phrases here; whether that he may be better understood of the Serpent, or of the Devil?

Now *because the Serpent was more remarkably subtil, he was, you say^k, the properest instrument for the Tempter to deceive by; the best cover to conceal his fraud.* But here again most people will be of a different mind: for 'tis natural to be jealous and on our guard against the counsels, to distrust all offers of kindness of the *subtle and malicious*: so that an *Ass* or a *Dove* must needs have been a fitter engine for *Satan*, under the disguise of folly or innocence, to have insinuated his poison by. And tho' you tell us here, that *the apprehension Eve had of his subtilty might make her less surprized to hear him reason and discourse*; yet in the very next page you declare it *natural to suppose, that for want of longer experience she might not know whether any brute creatures were capable either of reason or speech.* Can such shuffling and inconsistency, think you, have any good effect towards *rescuing the word of God from reproach and censure?*

'Tis the opinion, you say^l, of some very worthy and learned persons, that the Serpent

ⁱ P. 30.

^k P. 15.

^l P. 16.

was so like a Seraph, that Eve mistook it for a good Angel. The opinion indeed is very extravagant, that *Serpents* were originally in shape and beauty so like to *blessed Angels*, that it was easy to mistake the one for the other. But as extravagant as it is, 'twas embraced by Bishop *Patrick*, *Tenison*, and many other learned men, to avoid what they thought the more extravagant of the two, the very opinion you maintain; which tho' you declare to have no kind of *difficulty* or *improbability* in it, yet *Bishop Patrick* treats as ridiculous and *incredible*^m: and what reasonable hopes can you have of *converting Infidels* and *silencing Scepticks*, by the force of a solution which our *best Commentators* and *orthodox Bishops* reject as *simple* and *folish*?

But 'tis not *the extravagance* of this notion, but the *easiness* of it, that offends you: it spoils the whole story, by making it, as you say, *too easy*: this indeed is the true spirit of a *right orthodox Divine*; nothing *easy* will go down with him; nothing but the *marvellous* and the *improbable* will please him; and the good old principle *credo quia impossibile*, is with him the only touchstone of a true *saving Faith*.

^m She was not so simple as to think that Beasts could speak—— nor doth it seem at all credible to me, that she could have been otherwise deceived, but by some creature which appeared so gloriously, that she took it for an heavenly Minister. *Comment on Gen. iii. 1.*

But is the *Devil* then such a *Hero*, that he scorns an *easy* conquest; nor cares to engage but where there's difficulty in the conflict? or is it inconsistent with the *goodness* of *God* to allow him a triumph *so easy*? 'tis certain, that on some occasions he *transforms himself into an angel of light*ⁿ: and where could he ever have more occasion to do it than in the case we are considering? For if under that shape his victory was *too easy* before the *fall*, how much *easier* must it needs be now, in this *degenerate state* of man? If the *easiness* of it seemed then to reflect on the *goodness* of *God* for permitting it; how much more must it do so now, in suffering him with all that advantage to attack man when he is *down*, to trample on him when he is *fallen*?

But to proceed, tho' the *introduction* of a *Devil* may serve to clear up the difficulty of the *Serpent's speaking and reasoning*, yet it raises up a new one of a higher nature, which *your Author* charges upon it, against the *justice* of *God* himself, in *not interpoling in so unequal a conflict*. This objection, how merry soever you make with it, by laughing at *your Author's want of Spectacles*^o, is certainly of weight enough to puzzle and stagger our reason: and every man has a right to require from those, who pretend

ⁿ 1 Cor. xi. 14.

^o P. 18.

to be *guides and teachers of Religion*, how such passages delivered and inculcated by them, as the *undoubted word of God*, can be reconciled to the known *attributes and perfections of the Deity*.

Should a *Father* discard and disinherit a *Child*, for having deserted some post assigned him; seduced either by the craft of some *old Sophister*, or driven off by the superior strength of some able bodied man, the Father all the while looking on, nor interposing at all in a trial so unreasonable; wou'd not the fact be thought *barbarous and unnatural*? Now the conflict in such a case could not be more unequal than between our first *Parents and Satan*; and the love of *God to his Creatures* must necessarily be allowed superior to that of *natural Fathers to their Children*. Yet you, Sir, see no kind of difficulty, and treat the demand of a reason on the occasion as a *vain curiosity*, and *impertinent cavilling*^p: since every body, you say, must needs see how kind and indulgent God was in this whole proceeding^q: whereas, to speak for my self, I cannot from the *literal acceptance* of the story, with all your comment upon it, see the least symptom of any kindness or indulgence at all; but on the contra-

^p P. 20.^q P. 19.

ry, a necessity of flying to *allegory*, to account for the seeming injustice and unreasonable severity of the *Divine conduct*.

But since in a question of this nature, both *your reason* and *mine* may possibly be suspected, as if *prejudiced by education, influenced by custom, or biassed perhaps by some interest* in favour of *established opinions*; I shall appeal to an authority, which cannot be charged either with prejudice or partiality, with favouring or detracting from the credit of *Moses*; one of the *greatest Masters of Reason* that *Antiquity* ever produced, I mean *Cicero*; whose sentiments declared in some cases, nearly allied to the present, may serve to inform us, what *unprejudiced Reason* would determine upon the *literal history of man's fall*.

Cicero tells us, [†] *that the very Gods of the Poets, had they known how pernicious their gifts would prove to their Children, must be thought to have been wanting in point of kindness towards them. What then would he have thought of God's foreseeing the immediate fall of man, yet creating him to a state of sin and misery?*

He says in another place, *that 'tis unworthy of God to do any thing in vain, for*

[†] *Atque is tamen ipsi Dii Poetici, si scissent perniciofa fore illa filiis, peccasse in beneficio putarentur. Nat. Deor. l. 3. 31. Edit. Davis.*

that wou'd be a reflection even upon man's constancy^f. What then cou'd he have judged of the *formation of a Paradise*, and all that *apparatus and provision for the bliss and immortality of the first Pair*; which was no sooner made than forfeited, and like a *Theatrical Scene* changed in an instant, to a prospect of misery and barrenness?

Again, it is, says he^t, *the common opinion of all Philosophers, of what sect soever, that the Deity can neither be angry, nor hurt any body*. How wou'd he have been surprized then, to find *God* represented here as *fierce and enraged*, driving out his own creatures *in anger*, from the bliss he had provided for them, and in a *kind of fury cursing the very earth* for their sakes?

He exclaims on another occasion, *Oh the wonderful equity of the Gods! wou'd any people endure the maker of such a law, that the Son or Grandson should be punished, because the Father or Grandfather had offended*^v?

^f Nec enim ignorare Deus potest qua mente quisque sit: nec frustra ac sine causa quid facere dignum Deo est, quod abhorret etiam ab hominis constantia. De Divin. l. 2. 60.

^t At hoc commune est omnium Philosophorum——nunquam nec irasci Deum nec nocere. De Off. 3. 27.

^v O miram æquitatem Deorum! ferret ne ulla Civitas latorem istiusmodi legis, ut condemnaretur filius, aut nepos, si pater aut avus deliquisset? De Nat. Deor. 3. 38.

How wou'd he have exclaimed then at God's punishing so severely not only the *first Pair*, but *their whole posterity*, the *whole race of mankind* for their sin; and even the *Serpent* too, for the fraud of the *Devil*?

Lastly, upon mention of a *dream of Alexander the great*, that a *Serpent* appeared to him, and told him where he might find a certain root to cure his friend *Ptolomy* of a wound which was judged mortal: laughing at the story, the *Serpent*, says he, seemed to talk to *Alexander*: this, whether true or false, has nothing strange in it; since he did not really hear him speak, but seemed only to do so*. But how wou'd he have laughed at your literal story, of a *Serpent* actually speaking and reasoning, without moving the least wonder or surprize in the hearer? These passages may serve, I say, to shew what unprejudiced reason wou'd have thought of the *vulgar history of man's fall*: and tho' you, Sir, can swallow and digest the whole, without the least difficulty or reluctance; yet what offence, what contradiction to reason, is to be found in every single article of the account?

* Alexandro loqui draco visus est. Potest hoc esse falsum, potest verum: sed utrum sit, non est mirabile; non enim audivit ille draconem loquentem, sed visus est audire. De Divin. l. 2. 68.

'Tis necessary then, for the *satisfaction of our reason*, and the *quieting our scruples*, to desert the *outward letter*, and search for the *hidden, allegorical sense* of the story: where I shall not take the trouble of collecting all the fancies and whimsical solutions of the *Rabbins and the Fathers*; but content myself with proposing one, which appears to me the most probable and rational of them all; *viz.* that by *Adam* we are to understand *reason* or *the mind of man*; by *Eve*, the *flesh* or *outward senses*; by the *Serpent*, *lust* or *pleasure*: In which *Allegory* we see clearly explain'd the true causes of *man's fall and degeneracy*: that as soon as *his mind*, through the weakness and treachery of *his senses*, became captivated and seduced by the allurements of *lust and pleasure*, he was driven by *God out of Paradise*; that is, lost and forfeited the happiness and prosperity which he had enjoyed in his innocence. All this is intelligible and rational; agreeable not only to the common notions and tradition of history, but to the constant and established method of *God's Providence*, who has wisely constituted *misery, sorrow, and the debasement of our nature*, to be the *natural and necessary effect* of *vice and sin*.

This interpretation is embraced by several of the *Ancients*; particularly *St. Austin*; who tells us, *that the same thing is acted*

acted over again in every one of us, as oft as we fall into sin, that was represented by the Serpent, the Woman and the Man: for there's first, says he, a suggestion or insinuation; either by a thought or the senses of the body; by which if our inclination is not prevailed with to sin, then is the subtilty of the Serpent baffled and vanquished; but if 'tis prevail'd with, then we yield, as it were, to the persuasions of the Woman: and when our reason has thus consented to execute what our lust had moved, then is Man effectually driven out and expelled from all possession of happiness, as from a Paradise¹. Now whatever opinion this Father might on other occasions declare, (as he was not always very consistent with himself) yet at the time of writing the book, whence this passage is taken, he was persuaded, that in the *history of the creation and fall of man*, we cou'd not avoid *absurdities and blasphemy towards God*, without giving up the *literal meaning*, and trusting wholly to an *allegorical exposition* of it².

¹ De Genes. contra Manich. l. 2. c. 12.

² Si autem nullus exitus datur, ut piè & dignè Deo quæ scripta sunt intelligantur, nisi figuratè atque in ænigmatibus proposita ista credamus, habentes Auctoritatem Apostolicam, modum quem intendimus teneamus. — ut omnes istas figuras rerum secundùm Catholicam Fidem — explicemus, &c. Ibid. c. 3.

I have met with a *mystical Fable* among the Ancients, not very unlike the case before us: *that Man having obtained of Jove a remedy, to preserve him in perpetual health and vigour, and prevent all the evils and infirmities of age, laid it on an Ass to carry for him; but the Ass being very dry and wanting to drink, was cheated of it by a Serpent, guardian of the spring; who persuaded him to exchange his load for a draught of water: and so the Serpent has ever since enjoyed the benefit of it, renewing its youth and vigour every year, whilst man is left to languish by diseases and decay*^a.

Moses, we read, *was learned in all the wisdom of the Ægyptians*^b; and their learning, especially in things sacred and divine, was wholly *mystical* and *symbolical*; proposed always under the figures of *men, beasts and birds*, which were called *Hieroglyphicks*, or sacred characters; invented and used by them, as *Kircher*^c has shewn, before *Moses's* time: amongst these, the *Serpent*, as all Authors inform us, was of more common use with them, than any other animal; whose nature they imagined

^a Nicandri Theriac. Edit. Ald. p. 7. §. 17. & Scholia ib.

^b Acts vii. 22.

^c Vid. Kircher. Obelisc. Pamphil. l. 2. de institutione & fabrica Hieroglyphicor. c. 2. p. 102, &c.

Primi per figuras animalium Ægyptii sensus mentis effingebant. Tacit. Annal. l. 11. c. 14.

to have something *very excellent and divine* in it^d. So that it supplied the place of *two letters of their symbolical Alphabet*; and served them as an *Hieroglyphick* of various signification; more particularly as an *emblem of subtlety and cunning*, as well as of *lust and sensual pleasure*^e. Whence it cannot seem improbable, that *Moses's account of the fall* might be drawn from principles and notions imbibed in his youth in the *Schools of the Ægyptians*.

Dr. *Spencer*, explaining this custom of the *Ægyptians*, of delivering all *the sublimer parts* of knowledge under the cover of *Symbols, Types and Emblems*, observes, that *when God called out Moses to his Prophetick Office*, he considered him as one who had been trained up in that kind of learning; and that 'tis consonant therefore to the character and history of *Moses*, to imagine, that God designed, that he should write and treat of all the sublime things committed to him, in that *mystical and hieroglyphical way of literature* in which he had been educated^f.

^d Nihil inter Hieroglyphica Symbola Serpente frequentius—— cum enim viderent Serpentem animal igneo Spiritu plenum, vivax, &c. fieri non posse crediderunt, quin aliquid magnum, excellens & prorsus divinum sub iis lateret. Ibid. l. 4. Ideæ Hieroglyph. p. 347.

^e Ib. l. 2. c. 6. p. 131. It *Pierii Valerian.* Hieroglyph. l. 14.

^f Cum Deus ad Munus propheticum Mosē evocavit, eum tanquam virum Hieroglyphicis Ægypti literis enutritum tractavit, &c. *De Legib. Hebræor. T. 1. l. 1. c. 15* p. 211.

The mention of *Ægyptian learning* leads me naturally to consider, in the next place, your answer to this *Author's* cavil against the *divine institution of Circumcision*; which he wou'd insinuate to have been borrowed only from *Ægypt*. This objection you make *flight of*, and tell us, that there is *no ground for it*^g; and tho' your *Adversary*, from the nature of his objection, must necessarily suppose the *scriptural account of Circumcision to be a fiction*; yet you very gravely spend two or three pages to prove that his notion cannot be true, because 'tis inconsistent with that *same Scripture*: from which you conclude at last, that the *Ægyptians had not any circumcision at all*. A likely method indeed to confute him, by excluding all testimony in the case, but what he excepts to, as *forged* for the very purpose. For you tell him^h, that *neither Diodorus Siculus, nor Herodotus, nor even Sancho-niatho, can be of weight sufficient to determine this question; tho' some conjectures may be raised from the last of the three*—— Which way the conjectures you hint at wou'd lead us, I shall not at present examine; but am sure, that of *the three* you name, *Sanconiatho*, on whom you lay the greatest stress, is on all accounts the *least qualified*

^g P. 60.^h P. 56.

or worthy to suggest *any opinion*, or ground *any conjecture* at all upon : and as I have a respect for the *other two*, whom I have read with some diligence, I cannot suffer *their Authority* to be thrown off *so slightly*, without spending a word or two upon it.

Herodotus tells us then, that *all other mortals, except such as had learnt the thing from Ægypt, preserved their members as nature had formed them; but that the Ægyptians circumcised themselves for the sake of cleanliness*ⁱ. And in another place, that the *Phœnicians and Syrians who inhabited Palestine*, (that is, the *Jews*) *confessed, that they had received the custom of Circumcision from the Ægyptians*^k.

Diodorus Siculus confirms the same thing; that this practice was *originally Ægyptian*, and that both the *Jews and People of Colchus* derived it anciently from them^l.

Strabo too declares, that *Circumcision* was one of the most *famed and remarkable customs of Ægypt*; but *in use also with the Jews, who were originally Ægyptians*^m.

Now of all the Writers, who at all touch this question, these are the only ones I know of in Antiquity, that can be called

ⁱ Vid. Herod. l. 2. xxxvi, xxxvii. Edit. Lond.

^k Ibid. civ. ^l L. 1. p. 24. Edit. Rhedomanni.

^m L. 17. p. 524. Edit. H. Calaub.

unprejudiced, and whose credibility cannot be liable to suspicion either of malice or partiality in the case: and 'twas the authority of these that induced the *learned Marsham*, and the *no less learned Spencer* too, to favour the opinion of your adversary; all which you still condemn as insufficient to ground even a *suspicion*, or raise a *conjecture* upon.

Josephus, who in his defence of the *Jews* against *Apion*, takes occasion more than once to mention this *testimony of Herodotus*, instead of censuring or attempting to confute it, argues from it as from a thing granted: *The Egyptians*, says heⁿ, *are all circumcised, and abstain from swine's flesh—wherefore Apion is a fool to abuse the Jews, for the sake of those, who not only use the very customs he finds fault with, but who taught other people also the use of Circumcision, as Herodotus has informed us.* And in giving the character of *Moses*, as of an excellent Governour, and wise Legislator; never using the great power he was possessed of to any advantage of his own, but the sole benefit of those who had entrusted him with it, &c. Such an one, says he^o, whose intentions were

ⁿ Εὐκταὶ τοὺν ἅπαντες καὶ περιτέμνονται καὶ χοίρειον ἀπέχουσιν, &c. Contr. Ap. l. 2. c. 13. Edit. Hudf.

^o Ἀλλ' οἷον παρὰ τοῦ Ἑλλήσιον ἀρχοῦσιν τὸν Μῆνα γεγονέναι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νομισθῆναι, &c. Ibid. c. 16.

so just and noble, might reasonably presume, that he had God for his Guide and Counsellor, and having once persuaded himself of this, he judged it necessary above all things to instil the same notion into the people; that every thing he did was directed by the will of Heaven; not acting herein the part of a Magician or Imposter, as some have unjustly aspersed him, but like the famed Lawgivers of Greece; who, to make their good designs the more effectual, used to ascribe the invention of their own Laws to the Gods; and more especially like Minos, who imputed all his Institutions to Apollo and the Delphic Oracle.

Such a declaration as this from *so learned a Jew*, in defending the excellency and pre-eminence of *his own Religion*, might teach us to entertain more moderate and qualified sentiments concerning its *divine origin*, as well as the *divine inspiration* of its *Founder, Moses*; which whilst asserted in that *absolute and unlimited* sense, that Divines of your zeal and principles contend for, will ever prove a stumbling block to men of understanding, and obstruct the advancement of Religion, by making its Authority questionable and suspected.

But laying aside Authorities, let's consider a little on which side the probability lies: *Ægypt* was a great and powerful nation, famed every where abroad, and valu-

ing themselves highly at home for their *wisdom* and *learning*; so that the *Philosophers* and *Learned* of all countries used to travel thither, as to the *best School of Arts and Sciences*: *Pythagoras*, we read, brought all his knowledge from thence, and complied so far, as to be *circumcised* amongst them, on purpose to procure a more *intimate admission into their mysteries*^p.

The *Jews*, on the other hand, were an obscure contemptible people, famed for no kind of literature; scarce known to the polite world, till the *Roman Empire* dispersed them; and then the more despised only for being known: they had been brought out of *Ægypt*, according to the *Scripture account*, in such a manner, as could leave no impression in their favour in the memory of the *Ægyptians*; or, as *profane Authors* say, had been *expelled* by them on account of some *filtly disease*^q: Which then is the more probable; that a

^p Ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀγυπτίων ἐξήνεγκε τὰ τὰς αὐτοῦ δόξας. Suidas. ὃν οὐκ ἐκὼς πιστεύομεν, &c. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1. p. 354. Edit. Potter.

^q Plurimi auctores consentiunt, orta per Ægyptum tabe, quæ corpora sceleret, Regem Bocchorim, adito Hammonis Oraculo, remedium petentem, purgare regnum & id genus hominum ut invisum Deis alias in terras avehere iustum-- Tacit. Hist. 5. 3.

Dicunt Ægyptii Mosem patriâ Heliopolitem esse, unum e Sacerdotibus, ob lepram cum aliis pulsatum. Jos. con. Apion, l. 1. 31. 26. Vid. it. Justin. Hist. l. 36. c. 2.

people valuing themselves so much on their wisdom, should borrow so remarkable a custom from a Nation they always hated and despised^r; or that the *Law-giver* of a *petty infant State* should copy that, as well as many other of his constitutions, from the practice of a *great and flourishing Kingdom*?

Besides, those who affirm *Circumcision* to be of *Hebrew original*, and thence propagated to other Nations, have no one Author of Antiquity to support their opinion, but such as take up with it on the credit of a tradition derived from the *scriptural account* of its institution: and as they are destitute of all Authority, so they cannot agree either on *the person* who first introduced it, or the *period of time* when it was so introduced into *Egypt*. Some ascribe it to *Abraham*; some to the credit and example of *Joseph*; others to *Jacob* and his *Sons*, upon their settlement in *Egypt*; others to the traffick and intercourse between the *Hebrews* and *Egyptians*, especially in *Solomon's* time, who had both a *strict alliance* and *commerce* with them. Now tho' all these opinions are wholly groundless and irrational, yet none of them seems so

^r Μάλιστα πρὸς ἡμᾶς διασυνάς διατελούτες, καὶ μὲν ἅπαντες Ἀρετοῖν. Joseph. con. Ap. l. 1. 13.

improbable, as that which you embrace; that this custom was carried into *Ægypt* by *Abraham's* posterity the *Arabian Ishmaelites*[†]: for how can it be imagined, that a set of wild *Arabs* or wandering *Shepherds*, an occupation abominable to the *Ægyptians*[‡], of all men the most barbarous and illiterate, could have authority enough with a *polite and learned Nation* to establish so odious and painful a custom amongst them?

Moses, as is said above, was trained in all the *learning of the Ægyptians*; which learning was employed more especially in the study of *Theology*: they were held the *first inventors of religious Rites and Ceremonies, of Poms and Processions*[¥]. And where was this learning of his more likely to exert itself; where cou'd we so naturally expect to see its influence, as in forming the *civil and ecclesiastical polity* of his new *Commonwealth*? But whatever effect it would naturally have, 'tis certain, that the strong inclination of the people for all *Ægyptian customs*, their eagerness to relapse on all occasions into *Ægyptian Idolatry*, of which we have so many instances in their history, wou'd necessarily oblige him to indulge them, even against his will, in the use of

P. 66.

† Gen. xlv. 34.

¥ Herodot. l. 2. lviii.

many rites they were so fond of: his back was no sooner turned, than they prevailed with *Aaron* to make them a *Golden Calf*; which was nothing else but recalling the worship of the *Ægyptian God Apis*, represented always under that form^x: and the setting up the *brazen Serpent* seems to have been done in condescension to the same humour; being an object they had been used to reverence in *Ægypt*; where, from the *Isiac Table of Bembo*, the *Obelisks*, and other *Ægyptian* monuments, it appears, that the *Image of a Serpent erected in that manner on a pillar*, had extraordinary honours and a superstitious veneration paid to it^y. And in fact, we see many customs and constitutions in the *Jewish laws*, which are evidently derived from this source. The *Ægyptians* were governed by *laws and customs peculiar* to themselves, and different from those of other nations^z; were more addicted to *predigies and miracles*, than any other people^a; had *one High Priest*; as well as an hereditary Priesthood, descend-

^x Videtur mihi ideo Populus Israel in solitudine fecisse id, cepit vultu quod coleret; ut quod in Ægypto didicerant. *Ant. & Mon.*, qui sub figura bonum coluntur, esse Deos, hoc in sua superstitione fervent. Hieron. Comment. in Osee Præp. c. 4.

^y Pier. Valerian. Hieroglyph. l. 14. it. Euseb. Præp. Evangel. c. 10. ^z Herod. l. 2. xci. ^a ib. lxxxii.

ing from Father to Son ^b; suffered no *blemish or imperfection* in the beast they sacrificed ^c; were superstitiously nice and scrupulous about *washing and cleansing* themselves; nor durst appear at divine worship when defiled by the *touch of any thing unclean* ^d; wou'd not suffer any *leprous person* to come *within the City* ^e; abhorred *swine's flesh* as *impure and abominable* ^f. All which customs of theirs and many more, that we meet with in the *Jewish Law*, as they seem the plain effects of *Moses's Egyptian learning*, so they furnish still the more ground to suspect that *Circumcision* too might possibly have the *same origin*. *Spencer* on this very argument, declares, that *God, when he gave his Law, thought fit to tolerate and transfer into his own worship many customs and institutions which the people had been trained up to in Egypt, the better to accommodate himself to their humours and affections* ^g.

From considering the *origin of Circumcision*, you examine the *Author's cavils* to the thing itself: who thinks it strange, that *cutting off the Foreskin* (not to be performed without great pain and hazard) could have been

^b Herod. l. 2. xxxvii. xlvi, lxiv.

^c Ib. xxxviii.

^d Ib. xxxvii.

^e Ib. xlvii.

^g Deum, cum legem daret, ritus & instituta non pauca tolerasse & in cultum suum transtulisse, &c. de Legib. Heb. T. 1. l. 1. c. 13.

esteemed a religious duty acceptable to a good and gracious God, who makes nothing in vain, much less what requires cutting off, even with extreme danger and anguish^h.

In answer to this; as to the *pain* of the operation, you represent it as *slight and inconsiderable*, and make no more of *cutting off the Foreskin*, than the *Navelstring* in Infants so youngⁱ. And as to the *Hazard* of it, you condemn the very thought, and jeeringly call upon him for *a list of such, as had ever died of it*. And here I cannot but expect, that he will return your own compliment upon you: what; *no genius for Literature! no acquaintance with common Criticks and Commentators!* for the commonest of them all wou'd have informed you, that the *pain of Circumcision* was not only very *acute and grievous*, but the *Hazard* of it too so great, that it often proved *mortal*. *Spencer*, in the words of *Maimonides*, tells us, That *it was not like a slight hurt of the leg, or burning of the arm, but a most harsh and dangerous thing, not to be undergone without some hazard of life*^k. And *Lightfoot* informs us, that the *frequent mortality* it occasioned, produced a *standing law*; that when any per-

^h P. 63.ⁱ P. 64.^k Nam non est levis aliqua cruris læsio vel brachii adustio, sed res durissima & difficilissima, nec sine vitæ discrimine quandoque subeunda. De Leg. Heb. l. i. c. 14.

son had lost three Children successively by the operation, he was to be excused from circumcising the rest; in consequence of which there were actually many uncircumcised among them, who, in those circumstances, were esteemed still to be in all points as good Israelites, and even as perfect Priests as any of the rest. This perhaps will startle you, who have talked so rashly on a subject you were not acquainted with; and you'll be the more surprized to find a *Positive Precept* suspended by human Authority for civil and temporal ends; yet you will scarce except to my Author, who was both learned and orthodox, and to him I shall refer you for the list you insultingly call for of those who had died by the operation¹.

As to the other part of the *Cavil*, that *God does nothing in vain*; you answer; that the *Foreskin was not made in vain*; that in ordinary cases it was better to have it on, than off; but for extraordinary, it was wisely contrived, that there might be *something to spare*,

¹ You will wonder, Reader, to hear that some Jews were always uncircumcised; yea, that some Priests not circumcised ministred at the Altar; and that without the complaint of any, and indeed without any fault——Very frequent mention is made in the Talmudists of an uncircumcised Israelite, and an uncircumcised Priest——If the first, second, third Son should die by Circumcision, those that were born after were not circumcised; and yet Israelites in all respects; Priests in all respects. Lightf. Vol. II. p. 760.

Something to cut off as occasion should require^m : A most admirable Solution; which amounts just to this; that had not God wisely provided it, he could never have order'd it to be cut off.

But since your Author is so impertinent in demanding reasons for every thing, I wonder you wou'd not oblige him with some of those, which your *favourites the Criticks* have collected on this very occasion; which since you have omitted, I shall take the liberty to supply, by presenting him with one or two furnished by the *same Lightfoot*. The land of Canaan, says he, was bequeath'd to Sem by his Father Noah; because Cham and his Son Canaan had derided Noah's nakedness: when therefore the land was to be sett'd on the right heirs of Sem; a Seal and an Assurance thereof is given in that member, which had been derided by Canaan to the loss of that land. This was a main reason why males alone were circumcised, and why in that memberⁿ.

He gives the reason also why it was to be perform'd always on the eighth day. That as there were seven Nations in the land, which the Israelites were to subdue, so every child of Abraham for seven days was like the children of those seven Nations; but on the

^m P. 65.

ⁿ Lightfoot, Vol. I. p. 464.

eighth was to receive Circumcision, the pledge of his claim to that land^o.

'Tis a thousand pities that this *Adversary of yours* has *no relish*, as you say, *for this kind of Literature*; no reverence for *Criticks or Commentators*; for cou'd he be brought once to *this taste*, we shou'd soon see an end of all his *Scruples*, nor be teized any longer with the *impertinence of Cavils*. Thus where the *over-nice Gentleman*, as you call him, is pleased to cavil at *God's being said in Scripture so often to repent*; you tell him, that *there's not one Commentator of note, but wou'd have set him right, had he been disposed to learn, before he set up to teach*. For these *Commentators* wou'd have told him, I presume, the very same thing that you do in the words immediately following, *viz. that God is unchangeable, and repenteth not in a proper sense; but when he undoes what he had before done; or changes his first measures, as circumstances require, he is said to repent*: that is as much as to say; *God is really and in his own nature unchangeable, unless when occasion requires him to be changeable; nor ever changes his mind, but as oft as he changes his measures*.

Strange force of *Prejudice!* that such a *jingle of words* without the *least mixture of*

^a Ib. p. 465.

^b P. 29.

sense can pass with a man of learning, for a grave answer to an Objection so important.

I shall next consider briefly your account of the *Confusion at Babel*: a story invented, as your Adversary would insinuate, by the *Author of the Pentateuch*, [¶] to account for the variety of languages observable in the world, which he knew not how to solve by natural causes. But here again you tell him in your usual style, that he has not *any reason or colour of reason*. As to the story itself, every one must needs own it to be a *strange one*: Some writers *allegorize* it, to a meaning quite different from the *letter*; others interpret it so as to exclude *all miracle*[†]: but whatever we are to collect from it, 'tis certain, that it has never made any great impression on men of letters, however pious otherwise and religious; who in tracing the *origin and antiquity* of the several languages, seldom think it necessary to run back to *Babel*; but find the cause to be grounded in *reason and nature*; in the *necessary mutability of human things*; the *rise and fall of States and Empires*; *change of modes and customs*, which necessarily introduce a *proportionable change in language*.

[¶] P. 41.
langue. p. 3, &c.

[†] See Calmet Dissert. sur la premiere

'Tis from these principles, that men of learning have in fact demonstrated the causes, and deduced the history of *most particular languages* from their source and origin; not only of those, which now obtain, but of such also, as tho' once flourishing, are now no longer in common use and practice; as the *Greek, Latin, Italian, French, &c.*

Many both of the Ancients and Moderns, have endeavour'd to prove; that the *Hebrew* was the *first and common language* of all, till in process of time, thro' the influence of the causes above hinted at, all other languages sprang out of it, as naturally, as *many shoots from the same root, many branches from the same stock*ⁱ.

As these observations are grounded on fact, and the testimony of history; and *all the variety of languages*, that have ever obtained in the world, may be accounted for by ordinary and natural causes, which operate in the same manner at this day, and will always continue to do so as long as the world lasts; as this, I say, is certain, we cannot but allow that there's some *colour of reason* in your *Adversary's* suspicion, that the *Author of the Pentateuch* for want of reflecting on the natural causes of this va-

ⁱ Ut scire possimus linguam Hebraicam omnium linguarum esse matricem. Hieron. in Sophon. Proph. c. 3. v. 18.

riety, thought proper to have recourse to miracle and the intermediate interposition of God, in order to procure the greater reverence and dignity to his history. Especially, since without any *such miracle*, as all men of sense will allow, the same effect must necessarily have followed from the very *dispersion and propagation of mankind*.

But to examine your answer to this *Caveil*. You say, that *Moses in that place is not accounting so much for the variety of languages (which was a trifle in comparison) as for the quick dispersion of the Sons of Noah over the face of the earth—Thorns and Briars were springing up every where, Woods and Thickets spreading themselves around, wild Beasts encreasing; and all this while the Sons of Noah gathering together in a Cluster and designing to continue so, instead of dispersing to replenish and cultivate the earth. God would not bear their loitering, but interposed miraculously; and by confounding their language, confounded their ill-contrived projects*. What an absurd and ridiculous account of things is this? The *Sons of Noah*, it seems, had formed a conspiracy to frustrate the design of Providence in peopling the world; by *hanging together in clusters*; resolving neither to *disperse nor cultivate the ground*; and so must soon

have been choaked up by *thorns and briars, woods and thickets*, or devoured by *wild beasts*, which were multiplying apace upon them, had not God miraculously interposed to prevent it. 'Tis well however for the *Scripture you are vindicating*, that it furnishes no ground for such a *vindication*; but that all this nonsense is purely your own.

For from the Chapter you refer to, ^u 'tis evident, that the *Sons of Noah* were so far from any such resolution of *not dispersing themselves*, that they had already begun to *disperse*; had actually *sent off a Colony* from the *East to the plains of Shinar*. About an hundred years after the flood, says Calmet, when mankind found themselves too numerous, to be able to continue any longer together, they resolved to *disperse themselves*, and *send out colonies into different countries* *. For this is not to be understood, says Bishop Patrick†, of all the *Posterity of Noah*; much less of *Noah himself*; but of a great colony of them; who when the *East* was much peopled, chose to go *Westward*. And again; they continued, says he, in the *mountainous Countries of the East*, till they grew very numerous and wanted room; and then descended into the *Plain*, and

^u Genes. c. xi.
langue, p. 3.

* Calmet Dissert. sur la premiere
† Comm. on Gen. xi. 2.

Some of them went westwardly. And even those, who had marched into this *Plain*, were so far still from any thought of *hanging together in clusters*, that they knew and clearly saw that it wou'd soon be necessary for them to *disperse* still further into other parts of the Earth, but had a mind, before *such dispersion*, to erect some *publick monument* of their common origin, by *building a City and a Tower that shou'd reach as high as Heaven*; and it was the presumption and arrogance of this design, that induced God to baffle it by *confounding their language*^z, and to *disperse them* from that place, without suffering them to finish what they had projected. This is all that can be collected from this story, by any rational method of interpretation: and the story itself seems introduced for no other purpose but to account for the *origin of the different languages* that obtain in the world: nor is there the least ground for the notion of their *hanging together in clusters*, and resolving neither to *separate themselves*, nor *cultivate the ground*: a notion wholly extravagant and contradictory to sense and reason: for were it possible for them to form such a design, it cou'd not be possible to execute it: a multitude daily

^z Quoniam de pœna venit multiplicatio, mutatioque linguarum. August. de Civ. Dei. l. 16. c. 12.

growing cannot *hang together in clusters*; must of necessity *disperse*, in proportion to the encrease of their numbers; *want of room* will force them to seek *new quarters*; *want of food to cultivate the earth*: and you may as well tell us of *waters gathering together on heaps*, as of *multitudes gathering in clusters* to prevent their own dispersion. I know no animals, that hang so much *in clusters as Bees*, yet even these *disperse* themselves every year, and send out *colonies*, as oft as the *old Hive* becomes too narrow for the entertainment of their *encreased family*: the same nature, that pushes the infant forward from the *narrow womb* into the *wide world*, and from *childhood* stretches him out to *man*, will always oblige a growing people to spread and enlarge themselves as soon as their *clustering together* becomes uneasy and inconvenient.

I cannot imagine then whence you took this silly notion, unless from *the picture of Hobbes's Leviathan*; where we see just such a *refractory multitude* as you describe, all *clustered up together into one gigantick Figure*, as if resolved and prepared in that collected form to combat heaven itself.

After all; you conclude this article with great seeming complacency and satisfaction in the clearness of your solution; wondering what *possible Offence* your adversary can

take at it, and defying him to furnish a *better rationale* of it than you have given. But, pray Sir, what has he to do to give *any rationale at all* of a story, which he does not believe? Or shou'd he frankly confess that he cannot find a *better*, yet I wou'd not advise you to triumph too soon, lest he shou'd reply, that 'tis for that very reason he rejects the whole story, because there's no *better solution* of it than yours to be had; and he cannot take up with a *rationale*, that has not *a scrap of reason or sense* in it.

I shall not trouble myself with following you any further through your Answers to the *Objections of this Author*: I have already said enough to shew the Truth of what is above hinted, that the task you have undertaken of *vindicating the particular texts of Scripture from cavil and exception*; or *rescuing, as you say, the Word of God from reproach and blasphemy*, is much more likely to furnish matter for *new Scandal*, than *extinguish the old*: for this, as far as my experience has reached, has always been, and will for ever be the consequence of *this method of defending Religion*: since 'tis built upon a *wrong principle*, and proceeds upon a *system*, that cannot be maintained, *viz.* that *every single passage of the Scriptures, we call Canonical, must needs be received, as the*
very

very word and as the voice of God himself. This notion, which you every where inculcate, as 'tis false in itself, so must necessarily lead you into error and absurdity, and expose you to the contempt and ridicule of all rational men, who can never embrace an *Hypothesis*, however confidently asserted, which they see contrary to *fact* and the *plain conviction of their senses*.

'Tis the Observation of a *late grave Author*, much versed in reflections of this kind, that there's *no greater cause of modern infidelity, than that some opinions and rites are carried to such an immoderate height, as exposes the absurdity of them to all men of common sense; who out of indignation and an excessive renitence, not separating that which is true, from that which is false, are apt to fall into the contrary extreme, a contempt of all Religion*^a.

And what better effect can we expect from your present *vindication of Scripture*, where at every objection, you give the alarm; of *affronting God to his face; bidding defiance to the undoubted truths of God; running into downwright blasphemy; shooting up arrows against Heaven, &c.*? Your Adversary *cavils at Circumcision; it is fact, say you, that God did require Circumcision, and who*

^a Religion of Nature delineated, p. 60.

art thou that repliest against God? You tell us, that the modest way of opposing a Revelation, pretended to be divine, is not to examine the internal merit of its doctrines, but the external evidence of the fact: but this is certainly losing time, and beginning at the wrong end; since 'tis allowed on all hands, that if any narration can be shewn to be false; any doctrine irrational or immoral; 'tis not all the external evidence in the world that can or ought to convince us, that such a doctrine comes from God.

For my own part, as I have no kind of interest to serve by the belief or establishment of any opinion, besides my private share in the good it may do to the Publick, so it is the study and business of my life in every enquiry, whether *Civil, Natural, or Religious*, to search for and embrace the *Truth*; or, where that is not certainly to be had, what comes the next to it, *probability*. And as in the present question, 'tis my persuasion, that this way of *vindicating Scripture* cannot possibly do any service, but probably much harm to the Cause you are defending; so I thought myself obliged by a regard to *Truth and the common Religion* we profess; to discourage, as far as I am able, the progress of a work, which is

likely to be attended with such ill consequences: and if in *these Remarks*, (where I have endeavoured rather to shew the weakness of your reasoning, than declare any sentiments of my own) I have used any expressions of sharpness or severity, more than the nature of the Subject required, they are not to be charged on any envy to your merit, or spleen to your person, but to an indignation raised in me, to see you *dictate so arbitrarily, and decide so dogmatically* in points of the utmost difficulty and uncertainty; and in questions where hardly *two Commentators* have ever agreed in the *same solution*, condemn all objections as *slight and trivial*; as the meer effects of *ignorance or malice*; and bestow the titles of *Fool, and Idiot*, on such as differ from you in opinion, either of the *Authority or Interpretation* of the texts you are handling.

Yet after all, what *wonderful conviction* have you wrought; what feats have you done, towards *rescuing the word of God from cavil and reproach*? In the *history of man's fall*, you have fixed an interpretation upon it, which *Bishop Patrick* declares to be both *simple and incredible*. In the case of *Circumcision*; instead of shewing your *Adversary's ignorance*, you have betrayed your own; by denying that to be *painful or hazardous*, which for the *pain* of it was often *mortal*;

tal; nor allowing the *least* colour of reason to an objection grounded in *probability*, and confirmed by *express testimony*. Lastly, in the story of *Babel*, all that you have said is little better than *jargon*; *unsupported by Scripture*; *contrary to reason*; and must needs appear ridiculous to all men of understanding.

And now, Sir, I leave you to contemplate the merit of your great achievements; a pleasure which has, I'm afraid, been somewhat interrupted by the roughness of this Address; and to shew my own impartiality, and that I am drawn into this controversy by no other motive but a sincere love to truth, and a sincere resolution to embrace it wherever it is to be found; I shall proceed to use the same freedom with your *Adversary*, by sketching out a *Plan or rough Draught of such an Answer* to him, as would in my judgment be the most effectual to confute and overthrow his whole Hypothesis.

The Design of this *Author* is to shew, that the *Christian Religion*, as 'tis now practised amongst us, is not only *useless*, but *mischievous*; that the *Light of Reason*, or *Religion of Nature*, is the *only Guide* we ought to trust to; being *a perfect and complete rule of duty in all cases, both towards*
God

God and Man; and consequently, that *Christianity ought to be abolished*, and *Reason* advanced in its place as the *Publick and National Religion*.

That this is the *main design of his Book*, there needs no pains to prove; 'tis evident to all who read it; and the *Author himself*, I dare say, will not deny it. On this foundation then, his whole scheme may easily be shewn, even upon *his own principles*, to be both *irrational and immoral: irrational*, because *impossible to be reduced to practice*; *immoral*, because, *if possible*, yet *pernicious and hurtful to the Publick*.

The first may be proved, by the testimony of all ages; which teaches us, that *Reason*, whatever force and strength it might have in particular men, yet never had credit or authority enough in the world to be received as a publick and authentick Rule either of *Religious or Civil Life*; this is allowed by all the *great Reasoners of the Heathen World*, and the experience of its insufficiency as a *Guide of Life*, is given by many of them as the very cause of the invention and establishment of *Religion*: that *the authority of the latter*, ^c *might restrain those whom the former had been found too*

^c Ut, quos ratio non posset eos ad officium Religio duceret. Cic. Nat. Deor. l. 1. 42.

weak to keep in order. The life of man, according to Euripides^d, was once like that of beasts, governed by force and violence; laws were then contrived to repel injustice; but when these proved still insufficient, Religion was at last invented. By whose mysteries, as Tully observes^e, men from a savage life became formed and cultivated, as it were, to humanity.

'Tis then a confessed maxim of the Ancients, that Reason had not light or force enough to guide mankind in a course of Virtue and Morality: in consequence of which we find in fact, from the records of all History, that there never was a nation in the world, whose publick Religion was formed upon the plan of Nature, and instituted on the principles of meer Reason: but that all Religions have ever derived their Authority from the pretence of a Divine Original, and a Revelation from Heaven. This our Author himself in many places acknowledges, declaring, that there never was a time or place without some traditional Religion or pretended Revelation^f.

Such an universal consent must needs be owing to an universal conviction and expe-

^d Vid. Plutarch. de Placitis Philosophor. l. 1. c. 7.

^e Quibus ex agresti immanique vita exculiti ad humanitatem & mitigati sumus. Cic. de Legib. 2. 14.

^f P. 184. 299. Christian. as old, &c.

rience of the insufficiency of Reason; and seems to be the voice of Nature disclaiming it as a Guide in the case of Religion: and thus our Author's Scheme, by the confession of all Antiquity, and even by his own, must appear foolish and irrational, in attempting to set up that for a perfect rule of life, which from the nature of things never was or cou'd be received as such in any age or country whatsoever.

Should he then gain his end, and actually demolish Christianity, what would be the consequence; what the fruit of his labours, but confusion and disorder; till some other traditional Religion could be settled in its place; till we had agreed to recall either the Gods of the old World, Jupiter, Minerva, Venus, &c. or with the Idolaters of the new, to worship Sun, Moon and Stars; or instead of Jesus, take Mahomet or Confucius for the Author of our Faith? And hence may be demonstrated the immorality also of his Scheme, even upon his own principles.

For shou'd we allow Christianity to be a meer Imposture, on a level only with all the other Impostures that have obtained in the world; it would not be difficult to shew from the dictates of Reason, that an attempt to overturn it, as 'tis now established by Law, derived from our Ancestors, confirmed by

the belief and practice of *so many* ages, must be *criminal and immoral*.

The *Moralists of the Heathen World*, tho' they clearly saw the cheat and forgery of the *established Religion*, yet always persuade and recommend a submission to it; well knowing what mischief must needs befall the State by the subversion of constitutions so greatly revered by the people. *Socrates*, when condemned to die on pretence of *subverting the Religion of his Country*, denies the charge, and appeals to all who knew him, whether he did not constantly comply with the *Publick Worship*s. And *Cicero*, as our *Author* himself allows, often presses upon his countrymen a strict observance of all the religious Rites established by Authority, and declares *all those worthy of the last punishment, who should attempt to disturb them*. And tho' he was himself an *Augur*, yet he is so far from *dissembling* on that account, as this man foolishly insinuates^b, that he declares the whole *business of Augury* to be a meer fiction; and tho' it might have been received at first on an opinion of its real use in *Divination*, yet when that opinion was worn off, it was wisely retained for

^a Xenophon. Apolog. pro Socrate.

^b P. 396.

the sake of Government, and the influence it had on the peace of the Republickⁱ.

The *Athenians*, upon rebuilding their City destroyed by *Xerxes*, enquiring of the Oracle, what religious Rites they should revive, were answered, such as the custom and laws of their Country had consecrated^k.

The *Philosopher Protagoras* having declared in a book of his, that as to the Gods, whether they really existed or not existed, he had nothing to say; the *Athenians* banished him their territories, and ordered his book to be burnt^l. And 'twas the fear of the same punishment, that restrained *Epicurus* from speaking his mind freely on the same subject; and tho' he believed nothing of the Gods, yet obliged him in words at least to al-

ⁱ Non sumus ii nos Augures, qui avium reliquorumve signorum observatione futura dicamus. De Div. 2. 33.

Nec vero non omni supplicio digni P. Clodius, & L. Junius, qui contra Auspicia navigaverunt—parendum enim fuit religioni, nec patrius mos repudiandus, &c. Ibid.

Existimo jus Augurum, etsi divinationis opinione principio constitutum sit, tamen postea Reipublicæ causâ conservatum. Ibid. 35.

Ordiam ab Haruspicina, quam ego reipublicæ causâ, communisque Religionis colendam censeo. Ibid. 12.

^k Cic. de Legib. l. 2. 16.

^l Cic. de Nat. Deor. 1. 23. Protagoras, cum in principio libri sui sic potuisset; de Divis, neque ut sint, neque ut non sint, habeo dicere; Atheniensium jussu, urbe atque agro est exterminatus, librique ejus in concione combusti. De Nat. Deor. l. 1. 23.

low their existence^m. Euripides too, as Plutarch informs usⁿ, when for fear of the Court of Areopagus he durst not openly ridicule the Religion of his Country, contrived to do it covertly under the feigned characters of persons introduced in his Plays. And when Diagoras went so far as openly to deride their mysteries, they proclaimed a great reward to any one, who should kill him^o.

These were the *maxims*, these the *principles*, which the *light of Nature* suggested, which *Reason* dictated; and from these instances our *Author* may see how his *Attempt* would have been treated by a people the most famed for *learning and politeness* of any of the *Heathen World*: It would have been thought *worthy of the last punishment*; his *book burnt*; himself *banished*.

And this may serve withal to shew his ignorance of Antiquity, in magnifying, as he does on all occasions, the *moderation of Pagan Governments*, in opposition to *Christian*; that they indulged an *universal liberty*, never persecuted for *Religion*, never quarrelled about their *Gods*^p: for he quite mistakes the matter; 'tis not the *Believers of Reli-*

^m Video nonnullis videri, Epicurum, ne in offensionem Atheniensem caderet, verbis reliquisse Deos, &c. Ib. 30.

ⁿ Plutarch de Placitis Philosoph. l. 1. c. 7.

^o Διαγόρας τάλαστον ἐπεκέρυζεν ἵ τις αὐτὸν ἀνέλοι, &c. Joseph. contr. Ap. l. 2. 37. it. Suid. in Diagor.

^p P. 101.

gion, but *Infidels and Atheists*, who in every country have always been the *severest persecutors*, and *cruellest oppressors* of all *Civil* as well as *Religious Liberty*. For as this life is their all, they are the more jealous in guarding it; the more severe in suppressing every innovation in practice or opinion, which might tend possibly to disturb their repose: this is the constant observation of all who are versed in history, especially in that of *the Jews*; where the *Pharisees*, however *strict* in the Observance of *their Religion*, were always *mild and gentle* in the *Seat of Judgment*; whereas the *Sadducees*, tho' little concerned for *Religion*, were most *implacable and rigorous animadvertisers* on every *slight transgression of the Law* 9.

Were *Christianity* then to be treated as a *meer Imposture*; on a level only with the other *Impostures*, that have been received in the world; yet in this view we see plainly from the *dictates of Reason* and our *Author's own principles*, that an attempt to subvert it is both *irrational and immoral*: but should we consider it as the *best of all other Religions*; the best contrived to promote *publick peace* and the *good of society*; and what our *Author* in his own book has demonstrated, as coming the nearest of all

9 Joseph. Antiq. l. 13. 10. it. 20. 8. it. de Bell. Jud. 2. 8.

others to his *perfect law of Reason and Nature*: Then his crime will be aggravated in proportion, as he seeks to destroy a *better system of Religion*, in order to introduce a *worse*; since, as is said above, some *traditional Religion* or other must always take place, as necessary to keep the world in order.

'Tis the *tendency of actions*, says he, which makes them either good or bad: those, that tend to promote human happiness are always good; those, that have a contrary tendency, always bad: and this he declares to be a *never-failing rule, to judge of actions by their tendency*[†]: let's judge him then by his *own rule*.

The *tendency of his book* is to *abolish Christianity*, and set up *Reason* in its place; the thing it self is *impracticable*, the attempt therefore *foolish and irrational*.

The *tendency of it* is to disturb the *public peace*, by overturning a *Religion* derived from our Ancestors; established by publick Authority; revered by the people; 'tis *mischievous* therefore, and *dangerous to the Society*.

The *tendency of it* is to abolish a *rational and well-formed system of Morality*, to establish a *less perfect one* in its place; 'tis there-

[‡] P. 345.

[†] P. 350.

fore *criminal and immoral*. Thus without entering into *particulars*, or undertaking to *vindicate all the single texts* excepted to, which can serve only to *multiply evils* and *perpetuate disputes*, our *Author's general Scheme* may at once be confuted, and that by the most effectual and decisive way of confutation, the consequence of *his own principles*.

The general doctrine, which our *Author* professes to establish is, that the *Christian Religion is nothing else but a Republication of the Law of Nature*, and cannot be true and obligatory any farther, than as it corresponds entirely with that original Law: and for this he has produced the concurrent testimony of all our principal Divines, establishing the same opinion as expressly as he himself had done; and that they are sincere in this declaration, and actually practise what they preach, he himself allows and effectually proves in many instances. *I have shewn you*, says he^t, *by a number of instances, where Divines themselves own, that though the literal sense of Scripture be ever so plain, yet it must not stand in competition with what our Reason tells us, &c.* And again, *Do not all interpret Scripture so, as to make it agreeable to the touchstone of*

all Religion, the Nature and Reason of Things *?

What's the meaning then of all this clamour? What is it that he quarrels at? Our *Divines* not only agree with him in his *general principle*, but actually put it in execution, and reduce it to practice. Why, because there are still behind a *few things*, (mark the expression, for 'tis *his own*) a *few only*, which their superstition has made them interpret otherwise *. This is the ground of all that spleen, which he so frankly exerts against the *whole order of Priests*; that tho' they agree with him almost in *every thing*, yet dare to differ from him in *any thing*; and presume to interpret a *few things* so, as not to satisfy his *supreme and perfect Reason*.

Here we see a specimen of his *candor* and *equity*; here the fruits of that *benevolent principle*, that *charitable Religion*, which the *light of Reason* prescribes; that *Governments must be disturbed*, *Churches dissolved*, *Priests proscribed*, because they will not in every point submit to his *infallible Reason*. What he says of Dr. Rogers may much more justly be applied to himself. *The Doctor is against the Pope of Rome*, but 'tis to set himself up in his

* P. 425.

* P. 347.

stead y. For the *Pope*, we know, indulges his followers in many *particular Superstitions* of their own, if they will but swallow the *main and gross* of his doctrines; but this *rational Protestant* will not suffer even *his Teachers*, tho' agreeing with him in the *main*, to dissent from him in a *few particulars*. And is not this, to use his own words, *Popery, even worse than Roman Popery* z?

The *fundamental maxim* on which his whole attempt and all his hopes of success from it seems to rest, is, that *God cannot enjoin as a part of Religion, any arbitrary or positive precepts*, which do not directly flow from *the reason and nature of things*: or what comes to the same, that he cannot oblige us to any thing as a duty, whose *natural excellency and tendency to Morality* we do not immediately discover by *Reason and the Light of Nature*. This is the *main article* of his *rational Creed*; this the *single point*, as he says, *that must decide the question* a; for which reason I thought it necessary to spend a word or two upon it.

And here again, instead of squabbling with him about the real or comparative excellency of *the Precepts* he refers to, I

y P. 306:

z P. 307.

a P. 114.

shall pursue the same method, of turning *his own artillery* upon him, and endeavour by his own reasoning to confute *this favourite position* of his; which may be done, I think, by the *very arguments* he makes use of to establish it. Of which I shall produce two instances.

The first is an argument formed from the *similar conduct of* God towards us, in the contrivance of his *visible Works*, and of his *Laws*. If *God's Works*, says he^b, *show infinite Wisdom*, there's no reason to imagine but that his *Laws* do the same, &c. And in concluding the argument, God forbid, that any of his *Laws* have not impressed on them the *same character of the highest Wisdom and Goodness*, that is impressed on the whole frame of Nature, and on every part of it.

Now to prove any thing from these premises, the argument ought to run thus: God forbid, that in the whole frame of *God's Laws* there should not be the same proof of his *Wisdom* as in the whole frame of his *Works*. This is the only conclusion that can be drawn from a comparison of his *Laws* and *Works*; in which every rational Christian must needs have agreed with him. But then this is so far from prov-

ing what he infers from it, that it proves just the contrary, and overturns the *main principle* of his book. For though the wise of all ages have from the *excellency of God's Works* collected the *excellency of his Nature*; yet in those *very Works*, generally so excellent, all still agree, that there are *some particulars*, not only whose nature, but whose use or reason of existence cannot be discovered by the most curious searchers into Nature; nay some things which, considered separately, appear even *noxious* to the rest; all which, tho' not understood, are yet reasonably presumed to be good and perfect in their several kinds, and subservient to the general beauty and excellency of the *whole System*.

The case, we allow, is exactly the same with *God's Laws*; which, though in general they demonstrate the *infinite Wisdom of their Author*, yet may in some particulars be so contrived, as that the natural excellency of them cannot easily be apprehended. For were it otherwise, 'tis certain, that God would act *differently* with us, in the dispensation of *his Works* and of *his Laws*, in both which this Writer contends for *the necessity of a similar conduct*.

'Tis then full as unreasonable to charge all *positive precepts*, supposed to be from God, that is, all whose *use and relation to Morality we cannot comprehend*, to fraud and imposture; as in the *visible Works of God* to impute every thing we do not understand, or even every thing that seems *hurtful*, to the contrivance of some *malicious Power*, opposite to the *Divine Nature*. And as on the one hand we do not exclude from the *catalogue of God's Works* all those particulars, in which we cannot trace the marks of *Divine Wisdom*; so on the other, we cannot exclude from the *body of his Laws*, those *few injunctions*, which seem not to have impressed on them the *legible characters of Morality*.

The second argument is in the following paragraph, and runs thus. 'Tis impossible, says he, ^b that men should have any just idea of the *perfections of God*, who think that the *dictates of infinite Wisdom* do not carry their own evidence with them; or are not by their own innate worth discoverable to all mankind: were it not so, how could they be distinguished from the *uncertain opinions of weak and fallible men*, &c. ? This indeed seems opposite to what the Scripture informs us of the *counsels of God*: that his ways are not as *man's ways*, but *unsearchable and past find-*

ing out: and 'tis not contrary only to *Scripture*, but to *Reason* too: for what difference cou'd there be in *Nature* between *perfect* and *imperfect*; *finite* and *infinite* knowledge; if the *finite* cou'd clearly discover every purpose of the *infinite*? both *Reason* and *Scripture* teach us, that *God knows and sees thro' the heart of man*; but no man's reason before this ever taught, that *Man knows and sees thro' the heart of God*: that man, whose knowledge is so narrow even in the common concerns of life, can *fathom all the counsels, interpret all the laws* of an *infinitely wise Creator*. Thus his own argument turns against himself. *If the dictates of infinite Wisdom*, says he, *are not discoverable to all mankind, how cou'd they be distinguished from the opinions of fallible men*? Whereas on the contrary, were it true what he contends for, it wou'd be more difficult to *distinguish* them: for if all the *designs of God* were as discoverable to man, as *man's* are to God; he might well say, *where's the distinction*? But there's no one truth more certain, or flowing more necessarily from the *reason and nature of things*, that tho' God perfectly understands every purpose of man, yet that there not only may be, but really are many things, effected by his power and ordained by his will, which *Man* is not capable of comprehending.

This

This is the substance of what I wou'd propose for an *Answer to this Author*; which when explained more at large, and filled out by proper testimonies and authorities of other Writers, might be sufficient to confute his *general Scheme*, as well as the *fundamental principle* on which 'tis built. But to shew farther, that whatever be the real excellency and perfection of *Reason*, yet *his reason* at least is very *defective* and *imperfect*, and can have no pretence to set up for a *Guide in Religion*; many instances may occasionally be interspersed:

1. Of his *blunders in points of History*: for tho' he often affirms, that *Heathenism* never taught men to quarrel about Religion, except in Egypt; nor ever raged to that degree, as to occasion bloodshed, wars, and persecution; yet *History* wou'd teach him, that the politest people, as well as the greatest lovers of liberty, of the *Heathen World*, the *Greeks*, had their *Holy Wars*, their *Solemn Leagues and Covenants*, as well as *Christian Zealots*: particularly one against the *Phœcenians*, of which *Philip of Macedon* was chosen Head^d.

2. Of his *inconsistency* with himself; when at some times to blacken the *present*

" Demosthenis Orat. contra Æschin. p. 95. Edit. Foulkes & Friendl. Incredible quantum ea res gloriæ Philippo decessit; illum vindicem sacrilegii, illum ultorem Religionum, &c. Just. Hist. l. 8.

state of the Church, he appeals to the *primitive Ages and primitive Fathers* as actuated by quite different principles of *piety and simplicity*^c: at other times, to blacken the *whole state of Religion*, he reflects upon *those very Ages*, held, as he says, *for the purest*, as the *most impure and corrupt of all*, and *that the farther we go back, the more frauds we shall find*^f. In the same manner, to make the *Christian Priests* more odious, he represents the *Pagan and Mahometan Priests* as very *Saints* in comparison; at least as harmless innocent creatures, who *never did any mischief*^g. Yet at other times, to make the *very character and name of Priest* abominable, he declares them to be *all alike*; *all equally wicked*; *of all Religions the same*^h.

3. Of his *malice to the Clergy*; whom he describes every where as an *Order of men*, *profligate and abandoned to wickedness*; *inconsistent with the good of society*; *irreconcilable enemies to reason*; *conspirators against the liberty and property of mankind*ⁱ: whilst yet he shews by many instances, that the whole employment of their profession is to *explain Christianity so as to make it agreeable to the reason and nature of things*: as if those cou'd

^c P. 109, 313, 319.

^h P. 233, 282, 160.

180, 241. 281, &c.

^f P. 162.

^g P. 108.

ⁱ P. 47, 108, 160, 163, 164,

be *enemies to Reason*, who are constantly *preaching it up*.

4. Lastly, of his *obstinate perseverance in errors*, once embraced: this appears from *his repeated charge of forgery on the Church, in the case of the 20th Article^k*: tho' the charge has so oft been confuted and shewn to be groundless by such undeniable evidence as can leave no farther room for scruples with any reasonable man.

Thus, Sir, I have *sketched out the rough draught of such an Answer* to this Author, as in my judgment is the most likely to destroy his credit with all who pretend to reason: my comfort at least is, that if it does no good, it cannot do any harm: whereas in your method of treating the controversy, you run *too great a risk*; expose *Religion to too great hazard*; and engage on *too great odds* with your Antagonist. For should he fail in his attempt, he loses nothing but reputation by being baffled, nor hurts the general cause of reason by exposing the weakness of his own. But the case is different with you; 'tis *the cause of Religion*, that rests on your shoulders; and the success of it in some measure depends, on the success of your performance: for whilst you excite the attention of the Na-

tion to your *Vindication of Scripture*, shou'd that *Vindication* fail in any part, you so far expose the *Scripture itself* to contempt; give a real triumph to its enemies; confirm them in their infidelity; and inject probably new scruples where none had been entertained before. Leaving it therefore to your serious consideration, whether you ought to proceed any further in so hazardous an undertaking,

I am, &c.

F. I N I S.



REMARKS

ON A

LETTER

TO

DR. *WATERLAND.*

REMARKS

ON A

LETTER

TO

DR. *WATERLAND,*

IN RELATION TO THE

Natural Account

OF

LANGUAGES,

BY

PHILOBIBLICUS CANTABRIGIENSIS.

CAMBRIDGE,

Printed for *C. Crownfield*; and *J. Crownfield*,
at the Rising-Sun, in St. Paul's Church-
Yard, London. 1731.



T O
The AUTHOR.

SIR,

IN a late Letter of yours to the Reverend and Learned Dr. *Waterland* I meet with the following Passage pag. 38, 39. *As to the Story it self* (i. e. of Babel, and the confusion of Languages) *one must needs own it to be a strange one* ——— 'Tis certain it has never made any great impression on Men of Letters, however pious otherwise and religious: who in tracing the origin and antiquity of the several Languages, seldom think it necessary to run back to Babel, but find the cause to be grounded in Reason and Nature; in the necessary mutability of human things; the rise and fall of States and Empires; change of Modes and Customs; which necessarily introduce a proportionable change in Language. 'Tis from these principles, that Men of Learning have in fact

A demonstrat

demonstrated the Causes, and deduc'd the History of most particular Languages from their source and origin; not only of those which now obtain, but of such also, as tho' once flourishing are now no longer in common use and practice: as the Greek, Latin, Italian, French &c.

MANY both of the Antients and Moderns have endeavour'd to prove, that the Hebrew was the first and common Language of all, till in process of time, thro' the influence of the causes above hinted, all other Languages sprang out of it, as naturally, as many Shoots from the same Root, many Branches from the same Stock.

THESE words, as they seem to lie rather in the form of a private and general Hypothesis, than of publick and particular Remarks upon the Dr., I chuse to be the subject of a few Pages, without interposing in the particular Argument and Dispute between you and your Adversary, or presuming to appear professedly in Defence of a Person, who, I doubt not, will prove himself perfectly qualified to vindicate the Honour and Authority of Scripture, as well as his own Reputation.

WHEN I first read the Passage above cited in your Letter, I could not but discern immediately the artful design and view of it, 1st. To give us a hint of your own advancement and depth in Literature; 2^{dly}, To cast
a tacit

a tacit and distant Reflection on Divines, for their supposed simplicity, and unacquaintance with the *Nature and Original of Languages*. 3dly, To suggest and insinuate, that *all Men of Letters* and understanding, who have trac'd the *Origin and Antiquity of Languages*, have shewn no regard to the Scripture History of the Babel-confusion, but proceeded wholly upon *Reason and Nature* in their Critical Enquiries and Deductions about them.

THIS last Article being express'd with an extraordinary air of assurance, and in terms very full, bold, and didactical, is to me, I confess, matter of surprize and amazement; tho' not of much trouble and uneasiness. I have made it often the business and diversion of some Hours to search a little into the *Origin and Antiquity of Languages*, and have accordingly consulted, as far as I have been able, the Criticks of best note and character upon that subject; but I neither have, nor can observe, that the Scripture Story of Babel made never *any great impression on Men of Letters*, but quite the reverse, as shall be shewn by and by. Strange this! that you and I should see, think, and conclude so differently, upon the same Men and Things! But to tell you the truth, I am fully perswaded, that you have not examin'd so far into these matters, as the nature of the thing and such positive assertions might require: and I flatter

my self with hopes of proving it clearly to you, and your readers, before I have done. You have evidently touch'd but slightly on the learned discoveries of modern Criticks, and, not considering with a proper attention either the end or use of them, have unhappily fallen into such a mistake, as would mortify a Scholar to be published by any one, much more by himself.

You tell me that *this Story* of Babel has never made any great impression on *Men of Letters* who have trac'd the *Origin and Antiquity of Languages*. This I must affirm to have not the least Ground, *Reason*, or *Colour of Reason*. Fact and Experience are as strong against you, as they can be against any Paradox or *Hallucination* whatever. Many Writers have collected with great care and curiosity the opinions and judgments of the Learned on the Babel-confusion of Tongues: the chief of which are *Buxtorf*^a, *Pererius*^b, *Duret*^c, Bp. *Walton*^d, and *Morin*^e: not one of all these mention any single Christian Author that ever disputed the Authority of the Sacred Text, but only recount the many and different Interpretations of it. This is evidence alone beyond all exception, that *Men of Letters*

a Buxtorfius Fil. Dissertat. Philolog. 2. b Pererius Lib. 16. in Genesin. c L'Histoire des Langues, Cap. 2, 3.

d Walton. Proleg. in Polyglot. 1. e Stephanus Morin. Exercit. de Ling. Prim. ejusque Appendic. Part. 1. Cap. 8.

who had *trac'd the Origin of Languages*, had receiv'd no small *impreſſion* from the Scripture Story of *Babel*. But perhaps you would wiſh to hear more expreſs and particular Declarations againſt you. Take this from *Buxtorf*.
f *Philophers and ſome others, unacquainted with Hiſtory and Scripture, have attributed this variety (of Languages) to Nature. — Divines, following the Authority of Moſes, refer the Origin of the multitude of Languages to God, and make him the Author of it: For thus he (Moſes) writes of this matter Genes. 11. v. 6, 7, 8, 9. The Lord ſaid &c. And in this moſt are agreed. But as to the manner and form of the Confuſion how it was effected they are divided in their opinions.*

So Bp. *Walton*, another judicious Critick in this part of Learning. *& I muſt now in the next*

f *Philophi & alii nonnulli, Hiſtoriæ & rerum Sacrarum imperiti, Naturæ hanc varietatem adſcripſere. — Theologi, Auctoritatem Moſis ſecuti, ad Deum optimum Max. multitudinis linguarum originem referunt, Illumque ejus Authorem faciunt. Sic enim ille hæc de re ſcribit Genes. 11. v. 6, 7, 8, 9. Dixit יְהוָה Dominus &c. Quibus verbis diſertè Deo hujus rei cauſa adſcribitur. Et in hoc quidem conſentiunt & conveniunt plerique. Attamen in modo efficiendi, & formâ hujus confuſionis deſcribendâ, variant ſententiis.*

g *Proleg. 1. §. 7. Confuſio linguarum quo Authore, & quomodo facta ſit, proximo loco inquirendum. Ab ipſis hominibus fuiſſe nemo facilè crediderit. — Solus Creator qui unitatem linguæ primus dedit, eam mutare & tellere poteſt. — Reſtat itaque Confuſionem a ſolo Deo inductam fuiſſe. Sic enim diſertè docet textus. Gen. 11. 9. Dominus confudit labia eorum: cumque ſubitò & quaſi momento facta ſit hæc unius linguæ in plures diviſio, & varietas tanta in animis hominum intro-*

next place enquire by whom and in what manner the confusion of Tongues happened. That it was owing to any human means no body would easily be persuaded. The Creator alone, who at first gave the unity of Language, can change and destroy it. It remains therefore that the Confusion was introduced by God alone. For thus the Text expressly teaches us Gen. 11. 9 The Lord confounded their Language. And as this division of one Language into many was effected in a sudden and as it were instantaneously, and so great a variety infused into the minds of Men, it could not proceed from any other cause, but Him with whom to will and to do are the same; and He that conferred, by immediate inspiration, upon Men even unlearned and illiterate the gift of Tongues, the greatest almost of all Miracles, (He it was that) effected the (extraordinary) change at Babel by a Power evidently Divine.

BEFORE him the great Bochart had express'd the same thing. ^h *The Confusion of Tongues God alone introduced. — The same Babylon, where other Languages had their Birth, was al-*

introducenda sit, proficisci aliunde non poterat — quam ab eo accipere & facere idem est: quique donum linguarum (miraculo cum omnium ferè maximum) hominibus etiam indoctis immixtè contulit, hanc mutationem Babylonicam virtute planè sua effecit.

^h *Geograph. Sacr.* Lib. 1. Cap. 15. Confusionem Linguarum Deus invenit Deus. — Eadem Babylon, ubi ceteræ linguæ nate sunt, semper Hebraicæ fuit fatalis, semel in confusione linguarum, & rursus cum Judæi ibi captivi patriam sermonem dediderunt.

ways fatal to the Hebrew, once in the Confusion of Tongues, and a second time when the Jews in their Captivity there, forgot the Language of their own Country.

Gerard Vossius likewise. ⁱ We learn from the Divine Moles, that upon the division of the World, which was made in the days of Heber, after the Confusion of Languages, the East fell to the Portion of Shem's Posterity; &c. He has intimated the same in another part of his Works ^k.

Joseph Scaliger indeed has but hinted as much in his 242^d Epistle, to Richard Thompson, as also his Father Julius Caesar Scaliger^l; but however I am very sure you will find it exceeding difficult to prove that either of them ever express'd any doubt concerning the Text in dispute.

ⁱ *Pref. ad Lib. de Vit. Serim.* Ex divino Mose cognoscimus, in divisione mundi, quæ post confusionem Linguarum temporibus Heberi facta est, Orientem obvenisse posteris Semi, Meridiem illis, qui à Chamo descendissent; Septentrionem & Occidentem generi Japheti.

^k *De Grammatica Lib. 1. cap. 9.* scribit (*Simplicius Comment. 46. in Aristotel. 2. de cælo*) Callisthenem Aristotelis rogatu missum in Græciam observationes Chaldæorum ab annis 1903 ante tempora Alexandri. Id fuerit annis circiter ducentis ante natum Abrahamum, paulo ante structuram turris Babylonice. Nempe nihil prohibet, quo minus in terrâ Sennaar literis & Astrologiæ vacarent, priusquam de turri eâ cogitaretur, vel locus is Babelis nomen accepisset.

^l *Exercitat. adv. Cardanum p. 259.* Puer ego ab Hebræis accepi tot (sexaginta sc. & duas) esse linguarum differentias, in quas vox, unius anteq. modi, ad multitudine illam turris facta esset παραπληροῦς ἡρώδης, &c.

To these I have added in the Margin *Durret^m, Daniel Heinsiusⁿ, Selden^o, Huetius^p, Fl.*

in *Trésor des Lang.* Cap. 3. Le grande & admirable Prophete Moysé apres avoir décrit en son histoire du *Genesi* ch. 10. fort particulièrement les generations des enfans de Noë & la division des Isles, des Nations, par leurs regions un chacun en sa langue, selon leurs enfans & familles entre leurs gens, écrivit au *ch. 11.* ensuivant ce que s'ensuit. Alors toute la terre univierselle estoit d'un mesme langage & parole, & advint comme ils se departirent d'Orient qu'ils trouverent une campagne en la terre de Sennaar, & y habiterent, & dirent l'un à l'autre, or qu'il faisons des briques & les cuisons au feu. Si eurent des briques au lieu de pierres, & de l'argile au lieu de ciment, puis dirent edifions nous une tour, de laquelle le Sommet soit jusques au Ciel, faisons que nous ayons renommée, afin que paradvanture ne soyons dispersés sur toute la terre; adonc le Seigneur descendit pour voir la dite tour qu'edifioient les fils des hommes. *Aut a little lower.* Les Hebreux écrivent que le mot Babel est derivé de la racine בבל Bâbâ qui signifie confondre & brouiller, le quel mot fut donné & imposé à la tour lallée par Nemrod, appelée par les septante deux interpretes Grecs en leur version Grecque σύγχυσις confusion, à cause qu'en icelle le Seigneur Dieu confondit la premiere langue du Monde, ainsi qu'il en confirme en l'Ecriture Sainte *Gen. 11.*

n *Prolegem. ad Antiquarium Sac.* p. 676. Ut Lingua cum ad discordiam pernamque cultus interfecta, postea a S. Spiritu in usum veritatis ac concordie transmutata esset, ea post hanc vitam ea commendatur praeclariis, quae Creatorem suum optimè laudant. Quia ita neque Babel erit, propter unanimitatem, neque multis varisque opus erit linguis, quia unus erit populus unusque omnium ac ille Deus.

o *Prolegem. ad Deos Syr.* Cap. 2. Babyloniorum, Assyriorum, & Aramæorum primò Elbraum Samonem facit, quam ex eo, quod ante *Linguarum dispersionem*, eorum regiones incolerent, qui unius, ut *Scriptura ait*, labii erant.

p *Trinagel. Evangel. Propos. 4* Cap. 13. Probabilior haec est sententia, et Doctores Christiani ac sanctorum ecclesiae Patrum alicuius ecclesiae receptissima, linguam Hebraicam mundo ipsi coeternam esse, & Adam, priorumque Patriarcharum usu concelebratam, post *Dispersionem linguarum dispersionem*, in Semitam ac deinde Ebraicam linguam transiisse ad Abraham usque, & Israeliticam gentem pertransisse.

Tringa,

eringa^q, *Perizonius*^r, *Morin*^s, and Dr. *Wootton*^t, all concurring in the same Sentiments, all *Men of Letters* and *tracers of Languages*.

I WILL cite but one Writer more on this point, and that is *Augustin Calmet*, the very Person you refer to in your Margin. I have not indeed seen as yet the particular Piece which you quote of him, but, unless the Learned Benedictine can be guilty of gross inconsistency, I may venture to vouch him in favour of my self, and opposition to you. In his *Scripture Dictionary*, under the word *Babel*, he speaks thus. *Babel, ou Babylone. Ce Terme signifie confusion; & on donna ce nom*

^q *Observat. Sac. Lib. 1. Cap. 1. & passim.*

^r *Origin. Babylon. Cap. 8. Moïse* — hæc *Historia Sacra* lacinia non tam id egit, ut exponeret *Babelis* Originem, quam ut traderet *Rationem & Causam*, per quam *Noachidæ*, quum fuissent antea ut necessum erat conjuncti *Lingua*, habitatione, & unius *Populi* Formâ, separati ab se invicem & dispersi in diversa terrarum abierint, atque ita evaserint dein etiam *Lingua* & *Societatis* jure discreti. — Verum hæc ipsa lacinia, quæ cæteroqui sic *satis liquida* videtur, absque unâ & alterâ foret difficultate, de quibus ex professo agemus, *variis* tamen *interpretationibus*, in contraria sæpe discedentibus, & complures rei gestæ circumstantias quas *Scriptura* S. ignorat, nec desiderat sed respuit, commiscentibus, non parum insuper obscuratur. Vid. et. *Cap. 9. & 13.*

^s *Exercitat. de Ling. Cap. 8. Receptam* ab antiquis & recentioribus auctoribus de *Linguarum multiplicatione in Campis Babylonis* amplectimur, atque existimamus ex propriis sacri Codicis verbis evidentè fluere, *Labium sive sermonem unum & eadem* verba adhuc obtinuisse in toto terrarum Orbe, cum turris *Babylonicæ* insanum opus aggressi sunt *Homines*, ut patet *Genes. 11. 1.*

^t *Dissertat. de Confus. Ling. passim.*

à la ville & à la province de Babylone, par ce qu'à la construction de la tour de Babel, Dieu confondit la langue des hommes qui travailloient à cet edifice ; en sorte qu'ils ne pouvoient plus s'entendre. On débite diverses conjectures sur la maniere dont s'est fait la confusion des langages à Babel, qui ne sont point de nôtre sujet. — L'Ecriture dit simplement que les Hommes étant partis de l'Orient, & étant venus dans la terre de Sennaar, se dirent les uns aux autres : Faisons nous une ville & une tour, dont le sommet s'élève jusqu'au ciel, & rendons nôtre nom célèbre, avant que nous soyons dispersés dans toute la terre. Or le Seigneur voyant qu'ils avoient commencé cet ouvrage, & qu'ils étoient résolus de ne le pas quitter, qu'ils ne l'eussent achevé : descendit & confondit leur langage ; en sorte qu'ils furent contraints de se disperser par toute la terre, & d'abandonner leur Entreprise. And under the word *Langue*. Les profanes, qui n'ont pas en connoissance des Livres saints, ni de l'Histoire de la Creation du Monde, se sont imaginez que les hommes ayant été produit au hasard en différens endroits du Monde, & étant sortis de la terre, de même que les autres animaux, étoient d'abord sans langage & sans connoissances ; que premièrement la nécessité, & ensuite l'utilité leur firent inventer certains sons & certains termes, pour s'expliquer & pour se faire entendre les uns aux autres ; que de là se formèrent les Langues,

qui

qui sont si différentes entre elles, parce qu'elles ont été inventées séparément, & sans que ceux qui en sont les premiers auteurs, aient eu aucune liaison, ni aucun commerce les uns avec les autres. Mais la connoissance que nous avons de l'origine de l'homme, ne nous permet pas de douter que Dieu que créa Adam parfait, ne lui ait donné un langage, pour exprimer ses pensées & ses sentimens. — Ses enfans & ses successeurs parlèrent apparemment le même langage jusqu'au déluge, & depuis le déluge, jusqu'à la confusion arrivée à Babel.

WHAT think you now of your *Men of Letters and tracers of Languages*? Do they all seem to refer the variety of them wholly to *Reason and Nature*, to the rise and fall of *States and Empires*, change of *Modes and Customs*, without any sort of Divine Interposition? Do they sneer the Scripture History of *Babel*, and the simplicity and ignorance of those who believe it? Or can you produce in defense of your self any abler Criticks, of superiour Genius, Abilities, Industry, and Application? I am very well assur'd, you neither will nor can.

WELL! but, say you, is it not certain, that *Men of Learning* have in fact demonstrated the Causes, and deduc'd the History of most particular languages from their source and Origin not only of those which now obtain, but of such also, as tho' once flourishing, are now no longer in

common use and practice, as the Greek, Latin, Italian, French &c.?

HAVE not many both of the *Antients and Moderns* enaavour'd to prove, that the Hebrew was the first and common language of all till in process of time, thro' the influence of the Causes above hinted at, all other Languages sprang out of it, as naturally, as many Shoots from the same Root, many Branches from the same Stock?

VERY little truth in all this; and supposing the whole to be true, no impeachment as yet against *Moses*, no incredibility in the *Babel-Confusion*.

BUT, have *Men of Letters* in tracing the Origin and Antiquity of the several Languages thought it necessary to run back to *Babel*? No truly. If they had, they must have forfeited all their title to *Critique*, and deserv'd the ridicule and censure of all Mankind. This may seem to you perhaps and to freethinking dabblers in Learning nothing less than *Mystery and Paradox*. But I'll give you a clear and distinct explication of it in the following Pages, and shew you what a wretched mass of Errour, and Confusion lies in the *Queries* abovesaid,

Οὐρα μὲν εἰ ἐίδης ἢ μὲν Θεὸν ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνδρα.

YOU ask me, whether *Men of Learning* have not deduc'd to a Demonstration most of the particular Languages both *dead and living* from their *source and Origin*. This is all perplexity,

plexity, ambiguity, and artifice. I answer, Many of the living they have, but most of the dead they have not, and *few* ever pretended to it, and *none* have perform'd it to any tolerable degree of success^s and satisfaction. And I farther assure you, that whatever Discoveries they have made in Language, the Mosaick History will not, cannot suffer any real prejudice from them. To come to particulars.

YOU instance first in the *Greek*, as a Language *trac'd* by *Men* of Learning to its *source* and *Origin*. Pray, what kind of *source* and *Origin* do you mean? Its *literal* or *natural*, its *graphical* or *idiomatical*? As to the latter, that was never so much as attempted or thought of, as far as I ever heard, by Men of Learning; and the first is no manner of help to your side of the Question. This requires much Enlargement and Illustration.

I GRANT it therefore to be shewn beyond all dispute, by great numbers of Authors ^u Antient and ^w Modern, that *Cadmus* intro-

^u Herodotus Lib. 5. Timon. ap. Var. Critias ap. Athen. Lib. 1. Plin. Lib. 7. Cap. 57. Justin. Mart. in Pæren. Tacit. Annal. 11. Clem. Alexand. Stromat. Lib. 1. Irenæus adv. Hæres. Lib. 1. Cap. 12. §. 4. Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 10. Cap. 5. Marius Victorinus Grammat. Lib. 1.

^w Scaliger in Euseb. Digress. Ionic. Lit. p. 102. & Epist. 242. ad Richard. Thompsonum. Epist. 362. ad Stephanum Ubertum. Vossius de Grammat. Lib. 1. Cap. 10. Grot. in Not. ad Lib. 1. Ver. Christ. Rel. §. 15. Ezechiel. Spanhem. Præstant. & Ul. Numism. Antiq. Lib. 2. Cap. 2. Montfaucon. Palæograph. Græc. Lib. 2. Cap. 1. Bochart. de Colon. Phœnic. Lib. 1. Cap. 20.

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duc'd letters first into *Greece* from *Phœnicia*, in number sixteen, and in the old Hebrew or Phœnician Character, about the time that *Othniel*^x was Judge among the *Jews*, many Years before the Trojan War. I allow that four were afterwards added to the first sixteen by *Palamedes*, and four more to those many Ages later by the Poet *Simonides*. But what then? Will you say that the *Greek Language* has been *trac'd* up to its *Origin*? Can you not distinguish between *Letters* and *Language*? Did ever any Man of Learning suppose that the *Nature*, *Idiom*, and *Form* of the *Greek Tongue* took its rise and date from the *Greek Letters*? Childish! What do you imagine might be the Language in *Greece* before *Cadmus* introduc'd his Phœnician Letters, during the space of several hundred Years, from *Javan* the Son of *Japhet*, (from whom the *Ιωνες*^y or *Iones* certainly took their name and Origin) to *Othniel* Judge among the *Jews*? Undoubtedly Greek, the same in General and Substance with that which was spoke and wrote after *Cadmus's* Letters. Unless you will reply that Language depends upon

Walton. Prolegom. 2. §. 6, 9. Steph. Morinus de Linguis Part. 2. Cap. 4. Edm. Chishul. ad Inscription. Sigeam.

x Vossius ibid.

y Eusebius in Chron. Græc. p. 12. Ιωνῶν, ἐξ ἧς Ἑλλῶνες καὶ οἱ Ἴωνες. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 1. Cap. 6. Ἀπὸ Ἰαυάνος Ἰωνία καὶ πάντες Ἕλληνες. Hieron. Tradit. Hebraicæ in Gen. Javan, Iones, qui & Græci, unde mare Ionium. Grot. Annot. ad Lib. 1. Ver. Rel. Christ. Bochart. Geogr. Sac. Lib. 3. Cap. 3.

Letters,

Letters, and where there are no Letters, there the Human Species must be mute, or at least without any articulate Sounds and Discourse. I'll clear this matter up by an eminent Instance. We learn from *Socrates*^z, *Vossius*^a, *Morin*^b and others^c, that the *Gothick* Nation, or at least the greatest part of it were without any Letters, till the Year of Christ 370, and then were first taught them by *Ulphilas* or *Gulphilas* a Christian Bishop. Now would any one venture to assert, that because we have trac'd the Origin of the *Gothick* Letters, we have therefore found the Origin of the *Gothick* Language? Certainly not. And hence it is, that Learned Men, tho' they have fix'd the *Origin* of the *Gothick* Letters, are yet so little agreed and satisfied concerning the *Origin* and Nature of the Language. *Quant à leur langue, il ne s'en trouve point de marques, dont on peust seurement parler.* Duret. p. 863^d. You may now by this time easily perceive how little Truth, Sence, and Significancy there is in your *Histories*, *Sources*, and *Origins* of the *several Languages*, especially at present with regard to the *Greek*. The least acquaintance with Critique and Phi-

z Lib. 4. Cap. 27. a Vossius de Grammat. Lib. 1. Cap. 9.

b Stephanus Morin. de Linguis. Part. 2. Cap. 2.

c Versus Vet. ap. Pet. Crinitum. Mabillon. de Re. Diplom. Lib. 1. Cap. 11. Sect. 3.

d Vid. et. Joseph. Scaliger. de Linguis Europæ. Gesner. Mithridat. p. 47. & Wafer. in Not. p. 109.

logy will shew you your errour, and the same Learned Men whom you usher in with so much Pomp, Triumph, and Solemnity, will upon a diligent and prudent examination immediately correct your misapprehension, and readily disown the mighty Discoveries you compliment them with. But I have still something farther to observe upon the Greek Language.

You tell me, that all Languages whatever, *as many Antients and Moderns have endeavour'd to prove*, did originally spring out of the Hebrew, *as naturally as many Shoots from the same Root*. Here again, you take shelter in fallacy, and wrap your self up in ambiguity. For pray, what sort of Idea would you please to annex to the word, *spring*. It is capable of no less than three widely different meanings. *1st*, It may signify only, that the Hebrew was the first Language that ever appear'd in the World after the Creation. If this is all that you mean, it is a very weak and inconclusive Argument against the *Story of Babel*, because the same Learned Men who attribute that Honour and Prerogative to the Hebrew Language, have nevertheless receiv'd with all submission and reverence the Scripture History of the Confusion, as you will find in *Buxtorf, Bochart, Walton, and Morin* in the places abovesited. A second meaning of the word *spring* may be, that from
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the Hebrew, *Letters* were first deriv'd into other Languages, and thus may be stil'd, with a little impropriety the *Mother* of other Languages. In this sence indeed I may allow that the Greek *sprang* from the Hebrew, but without the least disadvantage to myself or gain to you. The 3^d and last meaning of the word may be, that all other Languages *Spring* from the *Hebrew*, as so many Dialects of it, varying and diversified according to Time and other Accidents, but continuing in General and Substance the same with the Mother Tongue. This I take to be your real Sense, as carrying seemingly the most Authority against the *Story* of *Babel*. Now as in the other two meanings, I have before shewn your *Consequence* to be false and illogical, so here in this last, I will prove your Premises and Matter of Fact to be nothing better than Air and Fiction. I am only concern'd at present for the Greek Language; the others I shall venture to touch upon afterwards. You tell me, the *Greek* is originally only a Dialect of the *Hebrew*. I would desire to know, upon what Authority? Experimental Knowledge of them both? Impossible! There is no Similitude in the two Languages, that can give any ground or countenance to such a notion. Every part of Speech throughout the Grammars. from *Noun* to the minutest *Particle*, is a clear and

fragable Argument against it. Have the *Greeks* any *affixes* or *præfixes*, *præformantes* or *ejformantes*, Letters *Radical* and *servile*, words *Heemantick*, *castrations* of *Vowels* &c. Has the *Hebrew* on the other side any *Cases* and *declensions* in Nouns; any *Aorists*, *Futures* 1 and 2, *paulo post Futurums*, such a Variety of *Moods*, as the *Greek*? Add to this, that the whole Turn, Idiom, and Phræcology of the *Greek* is totally different from that of the *Hebrew*. The only Resemblance that I can perceive between them, is in the Alphabet; but as the Cause of it is known to every Scholar, the Question will not in the least be affected by it. But in Languages that are really and truly nothing but Dialects of the *Hebrew*, the Case is quite otherwise. *Syriack* and *Chaldee* bear a Similitude to the *Hebrew*, in almost every particular of Grammar and Phræcology^a; and from hence it was that *Lucas Brugensis* pronounc'd them so easy to be learnt^b after the *Hebrew*. You will answer perhaps, that many *Hebrew* words appear in the *Greek* Language with a small variation. I grant it, and could shew it in a great number of Instances. But you cannot conclude with any justness from thence, that *Greek* is only a Dialect of *Hebrew*. The *Teutonick* has deriv'd abundance of Words from the *Persian*

^a Vid. *Buxtorf*. Grammat. Chald. & Syriac. Ludovicus de Dieu Grammat. Ling. Oriental.

^b Ap. *Walton*. Proleg. 12. Sect. 2.

Tongue, and the *Spanish* from the *Arabick*^c, will you therefore call the *Teutonick* a Dialect of the *Persian*, or the *Spanish* of *Arabick*? The *English* Tongue has borrow'd multitudes of Expressions from the *French*, must the *English* Tongue therefore be stil'd a Dialect only of the *French*? Thus far I have trac'd and disprov'd your Assertion of the *Greek* Language, from the *Reason* and *Nature* of Things. I will now produce the concurrent Opinions of Learned Men against you. *Joseph Scaliger*^d says, that the *Greek*, *Latin*, *Teutonick*, and *Sclavonick* are to be look'd upon as four *Matrices*, or Mother Languages, out of which, as from one common Parent, many *Dialects* or *Branches* have deriv'd and spread themselves. And he farther defines those to be properly *Matrices*, that have no Relation or Affinity between them. Here you see the great *Phoenix* of his Age, who had trac'd the Languages with as much Learning, Skill, and Judgment as any Man, gives the Title of *Matrix* to no less than three Languages besides the *Greek*, whereas you would persuade us that the *Hebrew* alone has any claim or

^c *Joseph. Scal. Epist.* 228. ad *Isaac. Pontanum*.

^d De *Linguis Europæ*. Sinto—quatuor hæc Verba Deus, Θεός, Godt, Boge, notæ quatuor — *Matricum*, *Latinæ*, *Græcæ*, *Teutonicæ*, *Sclavonicæ*.—*Linguis Matrices* vocare possumus, ex quibus multa *Dialecti*, tanquam propagines deductæ sunt. Propagines quidem ab una matricis lingua commercio inter se aliquo conjunctæ sunt: *Matricum vero inter se nulla cognatio est*.

pretension to it. Bp. Walton^e tells us, that *among the several Languages known to us, some are called by the Learned Cardinal ones, from which many others have sprung, and multiplied, as 1st The Hebrew, 2^d. The Greek, &c.* I could add a third excellent Critick^f, but these two Persons, I believe, may satisfy you and every Reader with respect to the generality of the *Men of Letters*, that it was never their Opinion, that the *Greek Language* *sprung* from the *Hebrew* as a *branch* from a *Root*; Some, I know there have been, who have freely indulg'd themselves in that way of thinking^g, but with too precipitate a fondness for a singular Notion, having no

d *Prolegom. 1. Sect. 14.* Quædam inter linguas nobis cognitæ quasi *Cardinales*, e quibus multe aliæ pullulârunt, à *Doctis recensentur.* 1. *Hebræa* unde *Chaldaica*, sive *Syriaca*, *Chanaanitica*, *Punica*, *Arabica*, — *Armena*, *Æthiopica*, & ex parte *Persica*. 2. *Græca*, cum variis ejus *Dialectis*, tam quinque vulgò notis, quam aliis plurimis; quæ per diversas *Urbes* gentesque *Græciæ* finitimas & per *Varias*, ubi *Græcorum Imperium* vigebat. nationes extensâ, cum aliis mixta novas linguas produxit.

f Daniel Heintsius. *Prolegom. ad Exercit. sac. p. 30.* Adde quod nec *Idioma Orientis*, ad verbum cum exprimitur, satis ipsi vel utique assècuti sint, vel utique, ut oportet, expresserint *Græci*. Cum vix dici possit, quam hæc, sive *Dialectus* sive *Lingua*, a *Græcismo* longè abeat nonnunquam: quamquam *cusis* seu *κατὰ συνήπτησιν*, ut alibi docuimus, cum *Hebraismo* ut & *Syriasmò* *Græca* quoque *Phrasis* convenire possit: quod in omnibus fit *Linguis*. Ut omnino nihil dicant, qui malignè potius quam verè hâc de re pronunciârunt. Cum & de *Græcismo* omnibusque autoribus antiquis *Græcis*, tum & istis qui ab illis quàm longissimè recedunt, rectum requiratur hîc judicium.

g Ap. Walton. *Prolegom. 1. Sect. 10. Vitringam. Observat. fac. cap. 6.*

Other argument, proof, or Discovery for it but this, that the *Greek* Tongue in a long course of Ages, had adopted many words and expressions from the *Hebrew*. But this is Evidence far from being clear, cogent, and convincing; and after what has been said, I shall venture to declare, that for ought any thing You or I or the *Men of Letters* know to the Contrary, the *Greek* Language may be one of those many that arose from the *Babel-Confusion*.

I now pass on to consider the *Latin* and other Languages.

THE *Latin* Tongue you give as a second instance of *Languages trac'd* to their *Source* and *Origin* by *Men of Learning*. Still in the dark, confus'd, and unintelligible! *Latin* as it stands in your Letter, without any Definition or Explication, is a word wholly equivocal and illusive. One would think by your way of Expression, that there could only be one Sense affix'd to it, whereas it is really and certainly capable of four, and upon the clear Distinction of the several Senses, depends the Truth of your Assertion, and the Justness of the Argument. You must know, the *Latin* Language is nicely distinguish'd by Criticks into four Sorts, the *Prisca*, the *Latina*, *Romana*, and *Mixta*^h. The

^h *Gesner. in Mithridat. p. 65. Ed. 2da. ex Pet. Crinit.* Relatum est quatuor fuisse apud nostros (*i. e.* Romanos) linguarum proprietates,

etates. hoc est, *Priscam, Latinam, Romanam, Mixtam*, quod ex *Varronis* Aut. ornare Grammatici Veteres tradunt. *Prisca* est, quæ vetustissima Italice populi sub Jano videlicet & Saturno regibus adfuit. cuiusmodi carmina quedam incondita, parumque nostris intellecta adhuc supersunt: ut *Saliorum* & *Argeorum* sacra, de quibus *Varro* etiam *Terentius* meminit. *Latina* verò, etiam sub Latino & Regibus Tusce ceteri quidem Populi in ipso Latio loquebantur: quæ tabule Decemvirales scriptæ sunt, ac tunc Leges, & publica quedam edicta. *Romana*, quæ post ex tot Reges Romanos populi Gesta complexa est. Nam & hæc ipsam inter Poetas *M. Phutus, Nævius, Accius, Pacuvius, Ennius* & *P. Virgilius* maxime coluerunt. Ex oratoribus autem & Historicis *M. Cato, S. Cælia, Quadrigarius, Val. Antias, Cæsar, & M. Cæro*. *Mixta* vero, quæ aucto Imperio & Libertate amissa, varios populos ac Nationes in jura Civitatis admixta, quo factum est, ut *Romana* virtus ac loquendi juxta integritas passim cum moribus degeneraret. *Gerardus Hufsius* *Præf. ad Lib. de Variis Serm.* Habuit Sermo *Latinus* ætatem crescentem, habuit decrecentem, habuit inter utrumque vigorem suum. Crescentem divido in Pueritiam, & adolescentiam. Ad priorem refero *Salvares Numæ Pompilius*, ac similes hymnos, quos vero optimo vix Sacerdotes sui intelligebant; item leges Regias ac Decemvirales; necnon Pontificum Reges & Antikes; ad hæc columnam Rostram *Dasilii*, aliisque his similia. Adolescentiam aspiciamus à *Livio Andronico*; quæ scilicet inter alios *Nævius, Ennius, Pacuvius, Attius*; meritorique his *Portius Cato*, cujus Libri de R. R. usque perduraverunt: cæterorum fragmenta solum habemus. Opus vero in Adolescentia hæc *Pautus, Terentius* &c. Vigorem verò ac maturitatem in prosa habent *Cicero, Cæsar, &c.* in Carminibus *Lucretius, Catullus, Muro* &c. — Postea quam verò *Roma* prius sub Odore, mox sub Gotius fuit: ac a variis Gentibus, quas *Romani* *Insularis* vocaverunt, misere diderptum est Imperium; Seruatum Romanum, non jam quasi decrepitum, sed dixero moribundum vel potius emortuum, magisque cadaveri quam vivo similem corpori. *Cangius Hufsius* in *Præf. ad Glossar. Lat. Sect. 2.* *Latinæ* Linguæ quatuor quidam esse dixerunt, *Priscam, Latinam, Romanam, Mixtam*. *Priscam*, quæ vetustissimi Italice Populi sub Jano & Saturno sunt usi, incondita ut se habent carmina *Saliorum*. *Latinam* deinde, quam sub Latino & Regibus Tusce ceteri in Latio sunt locuti. *Romanam*, quæ post exactos Reges in Populo Romano viguit. — *Mixtam* denique, quæ post Imperium latius promotum simul cum moribus & hominibus in Romanam Civitatem irrepfit, integritatemque verbi per *Schævisinos* & *Barbarissimos* corripit. *Vid. et. Duret. 770, & seqq.*

Prisca is that sort of *Latin* which was antiently in Use among the first Inhabitants of *Italy* in the Days of *Janus* and *Saturn*, before any Colonies from *Greece* had settlement there, and is call'd by *Gerard Vossius*, *Primogenia*, or the *Primitive Language of Latium*. The *Latina*, was a *Latin* of something later Date, the Language of King *Latinus*, and the People of his Time, in which were compos'd perhaps the famous 12 Tables, the Laws and Annals of the High Priests, and some Publick Edicts, corrupted a little from the Primitive, by Greek intermixtures and adulterations. The *Remana* was that which was introduc'd first in the Writings of *Nevius*, *Ennius*, *Pacuvius*, *Attius*, and *Cato*, cultivated afterwards with great Improvements by *Plautus*, *Terence*, &c. and brought at last to the highest Perfection of Purity and Elegance, by *Lucretius*, *Catullus*, *Virgil*, *Cicero*, *Cesar*, *Sallust*, *Livy*, &c. The *Mixta*, the 4th sort of *Latin*, was that which arose after the great decline and decay both of the *Roman* Empire and Language, made up of numberless Barbarisms and Solecisms from many Nations and Languages, and preserving but little Remains of that which is stil'd *Classick Latin*. Now take the *Latin* Language in either of the last three Senses, and I will readily allow that it has been trac'd to its Origin. But what does it prove? Just nothing at all against the *Sto-*

ry of *Babel*. Because tho' *Latin* according to the three last Denominations and Kinds, may admit of a certain Date, and Historical *Derivation* from *Men of Letters*, yet the first sort; the Antient and Primitive Language of *Italy* and the Parts adjacent, stands still unoriginated without any particular *Æra*, *Cause*, and Account fix'd to it. This is imported in the very name of it *Prisca*, signifying only in general its superior Antiquity to the others, without any particular Mark, Description and Character of it; and therefore notwithstanding what some have Objectedⁱ concerning the *Latin* i. e. the *Romana*, or *Latina* being only a derivative and dialect of the *Greek*, the *Prisca* may ultimately be referr'd to the *Babel Confusion*, without any Impossibility, Anacronism or Charge of *anachronism*.

Having hitherto wrote and Disputed against you as an Adversary, and shewn how exceeding raw and unexperienc'd you are in the affair of Languages, and how little qualify'd to argue and determine upon them, I shall now alter my Method and Style into that of a Friend, and endeavour to give you some Knowledge and Insight into those Matters, by setting the Discoveries of Learned Linguists, in their true and proper Light from short Extracts out of their own Writings.

i *Vitring. Observat. sac. Lib. 1. Cap. 7. Sect. 23.*

I will therefore in the Sequel consider what Languages *have* been *trac'd* to their *Origin*, what have not, and how far the *Mosaick* History is affected by such Deductions.

It is then very carefully to be observ'd, that whatever Languages, (except the *Hebrew*) have been really trac'd to any natural *Source* and *Origin* by Men of Learning, are such as are properly Modern, and grown into Use in the latter Ages only of the World, and substituted in the Room of others more Antient and pure. To begin with the Language of our own Country *England*. We learn from many Writers^k, that the *English* Language was first introduc'd by the *Saxons*, being one Dialect of the *Teutonic*^l, and afterwards adulterated by another Dialect of it, the *Danish* and *Norman*. Be it therefore allow'd that the *English* Language is *trac'd* to its *Origin*, and easily accounted for from *Reason*, *Mutability* of *Human Things*, *Rise* and *Fall* of *States* and *Kingdoms*. But what will you do with the Original and Primitive Language of *Britain*? Where will you fix its Birth and Source from the time the Isle was Inhabited, to the *Saxon* Conquest. Here the Criticks and the *Men of Learning* are whol-

^k Gesner *Mithrid.* p. 9. & 13. Scaliger. de Ling. Europ. Duret. p. 873.

^l Matricis Godt (*Teutonica*) propagines five idiomata præcipua sunt tria, Teutonismus, Saxonismus & Danismus. *Scal.* *ibid.*

ly at a stand. They tell us indeed, that the *British* Language was the same with the *Tartaric*^m, but the *Tartaric* it self they do not trace to its Fountain: And *Gerard Vossius* seems to think that the *British* as well as the old *Gallic*, *Spanish*, and *German* Tongues sprang originally from *Japhet's* eldest Son *Gomer* and his Posterityⁿ. The same thing may be seen and exemplifi'd in other Languages. The *French*, *Italian*, and *Spanish* Tongues, are very well known to be nothing more than Corruptions and Mixtures of *Latin*, *Francic*, and *Celtic*^o. And these it is true are easily trac'd up to their *Source* and *Origin*. But as they were very late in Existence, and did but succeed to Languages of higher Antiquity, those that preceded, lie still out of our Reach and Knowledge, and cannot be trac'd to their Fountain, any more than the Head of *Nile*. Thus it is also in the severai Branches and Derivatives of other Primary and Ancient Languages. Whatever out of these have been with any clearness and certainty trac'd up to

^m Walton *Prolegom.* 1. §. 14.

ⁿ Europæ autem Scythiæ terras, Tanai trajecto, occuparunt Cimmerii; — A Gomero illos filiorum (Japheti) natu maximo, ab illis verò Cimbros genus ducere, vulgatiores opinio est. Ex hisce locis quæ diximus paulatim sunt profecti in terras alias atque alias. Communis verò lingua fuit Scythiis & Celtis; hoc est, Germanis, & veteribus Gallis, Hispanis, Britannis. Sed hi postea multum à primogeniâ recesserunt. *Pref. ad Lib. de Vit. Serm.*

^o Matrix Deus (Latina) peperit Italicam, Gallicam & Hispanicam. *Scalig. Ling. Europ. Gesner. Mithrid.* p. 25, 49, 57.

their *Origin* (the Number of which comparatively is exceeding small) may justly be esteem'd as of Yesterday, owing their Rise to a Series of Ages, and Varieties of Accidents; whereas the Original and Primitive Tongues, have buried their Nativity in a numerous Train of After-Generations, and are prior perhaps not only to History, but Letters themselves. It would be tedious and endless to transcribe in this place from *Gesner*, *Duret*, *Scaliger*, *Bochart*, *Walton*, and others, a particular and accurate account of every single Language. I shall think it sufficient to touch at present upon Generals only, and give you in a few Hints subject for any nicer Examination. Let us therefore suppose it to be shewn at large, by Men of Learning, that the several Languages of *Dalmatia*, *Muscovy*, the *Vandali*, *Croati*, of *Bohemia*, *Polonia*, *Lithuania* and fifty others reckon'd up by *Gesner*, are all Species with some Corruption of the *Slavonic* P. Let us again suppose

p *Slavonica* sive *Illyrica*, longè per *Europam* & *Asiam* se extendens, sub quâ *Dalmatica*, *Muscovitica*, *Vandalica*, *Croatia*, *Bohemica*, *Polonica*, *Lithuanica*, alique ejus quasi Dialecti, *Walton*. *Proleg.* 1. §. 14. Hæc Matrix sive Lingua Boge (i. e. *Slavonica*) in multas propagines diffusâ est, *Rutenicam*, *Polonicam*, *Boëmicam*, *Illyricam*, *Dalmaticam*, *Windicam* & aliis quas unusquisque potest adijicere. *Joseph. Scal. Ling. Europ.* Enumeratio alphabetica populorum qui *Illyricâ* (i. e. *Slavonicâ*) linguâ utuntur. *Abgazari* vel *Abgazelli* qui & *Gazari* circa mare *Caspium*, *Æstui*, *Arbenfes*, *Bessi*, hodiè *Bosnienses* vel *Bosnienses*, *Bohemi*, *Borussii*, *Bulgari*, *Carni*, *Caraiolani*, &c. *Gesner in Mithrid.* p. 60. Quis nescit natam esse ex *Slavonicâ*, *Polonicam*

that the present Languages of *Germany, Helvetia, Suevia, Westphalia, Austria, Belgia, Wales, Denmark, Sweden, Norway*, and others have been all shewn to be several species of *Teutonick*^q. Let us farther suppose the Languages of the most Northern Nations to be several adulterated branches of the *Tartaric* or *Scythian*^r. To pass from *Europe* into *Asia* and *Africa*. Let us take it for granted, that the modern *Egyptian* is prov'd to be a Dialect made up of *Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Arabick* and *Æthiopick*^s; that the vulgar *Æthiopic* was first introduc'd into common use, when the seat of the Kingdom was remov'd from *Axuma*^t; That the Modern *Persic* is little else than a jarring

Hungaricam, Belonicam, Dalmaticam, Croaticam &c. Bochar. Geogr. Sacr. Lib. 1. Cap. 15.

q *Teutonica* live *Germanica*, unde *Germanica* communis, *Helvetica Teutonica* prius proxima, *Suevica, Westphalica, Austria, Belgica* per *Flandriam, Brabantiam, Bataviam*, aliaque regiones *Albemont, & Cambria*, sub quâ *Danicam, Suedicam, Norwegicam, Anglicam, Gothicam* numerant. Walton. Ibid. Ex *Germanica* (i. e. *Teutonica*) quis nescit natam esse *Belgicam, Anglicam, Danicam, Norwegicam*, &c. Bochart. ibid. Scalig. ibid.

r *Tartarica*, cui longè per septentrionem vagatur, ad quam multæ *Europæorum & Asiaticorum* linguæ antiquæ referendæ, si *Boxhornio* credendum, ut antiqua *Gallica, & Britannica*, cujus reliquæ adhuc in *Wallia* manent, *Hispanica antiqua, Turcica* &c. Walton. Ibid.

s Quæ lingua (sc. *Ægyptia*) cum sit penitus deleta in *Ægypto* primum per *Græcos*, deinde per *Romanos*, postea per *Saracenos & Arabes*, & pauca supersint vocabula in monumentis literarum, non potest facile judicari aut aliquid pro comperto pronunciari de Lingua (sc. antiquâ) *Ægyptiorum*. Bibliand. ap. Duræ. p. 380. Bochart. ubi supra.

t Relicta *Axumâ* translatoque in meditullium Regni imperio, lingua hæc nostra (*Æthiopica antiqua*) in u. u. vulgari esse de-

conflux

conflux of *Greek, Latin, Arabick, Tartaric* &c. What is the natural and proper Conclusion from all this? That Men of Learning have in fact trac'd to their *Source and Origin* the *several Languages* of the World of *all Times*? That they either have or could possibly account for all the Varieties of them from *Reason and Nature, Mutability of Human affairs, rise and fall of States and Empires*? Impossi-

sit. Etenim familiâ *Zageâ* deficiente, cum alius Rex ex *Sewâ*, ubi ferè *Amharicè* loquuntur, peteretur; nonnulli etiam ex *Rupe Amharæ* ab exilio in Regnum adsciscerentur, *Amharicæ* dialectus in usum venit. Nam novus Rex, linguæ *Tigrensis* (*Gheez dictæ*) rudis, assumptis familiaribus, qui eodem secum sermone utebantur, vernaculam suam in aulam & castra inexit; quæ diu ibi & in vicinis oris locata, rarè in *Tigram* movebantur. Eum secuti sunt cæteri Proceres atque magnates; ut mos est Aulicis, Regis mores imitari ejusque dialecto uti. Sic *Amharicæ* lingua — cum aulâ & castris per universum Regnum ceu Regia circumlata, brevi omnibus aliis dialectis, *ipsique antiquæ & nobili nostræ in communi loquendi Usus prevaluit*. Job. Ludolphus Hist. Æthiop. Lib. 1. Cap. 15. Walton. Proleg. 15. §. 6. & seq.

u Sciendum est in *Persicâ* hodiernâ magnam esse mixturam vocabulorum, ex Gentium varietate, quæ in *Persiam* variis temporibus irruerunt, *Græcorum*, sc. *Romanorum, Arabum, Turcarum, Tartarorum* sub *Tamerlane* &c. Walton. Proleg. 16. §. 2. Les Perses qui sont pour le jourd'huy en Perse, sont descendus des Parthes, provenus & procedez de la Scythie, ainsi q'assurent les historiens modernes, la langue Persane du jourd' huy a grand cours & vogue par la plus grand partie de l'Asie, & a autant de Credit & Reputation que la langue Latine en a par tout l'Occident, estant icelle langue procedée du mellange & commixtion des langues *Hebraïque, Chaldaïque, Syriaque, Sarrafinisque, Arabesque, Turquesque, Moreque, Tartaresque*, & autres usitées par toute l'Asie. Duret. de Ling. Cap. 48. p. 497. Zerdusht seu Zeratusth scripsit aliquammultos Libros de variis subjeetis, omnes *Linguâ antiquâ in plerisque locis jam obsoletâ*. Thom. Hyde Pref. ad Religion. Vt. Pers. Præmitto Persas distinguendos esse in *Veteres eorumque Sobolem & seros nepotes*, — & in *moderniores*; quæ *moderatorum gens ut & eorum* ble,

ble, by all the Violence and Torture imaginable! For how is the great Hiatus and Intervall fill'd up between the Rise of the Modern and that of Language it self^w? Or how is it reasonable to pronounce one Language a *branch* and *root* of another, when there is no Similitude and Analogy discernable between them? The Learned French Nobleman *Mormeus*, and others will teach

Lingua, olim ex aliquot aliis conflata est, partim ex Alienigenis *Saracenis* & *Tartaris*, præcipuè vero ex aliquibus *Indigenis Parthis* & *Medis* & veteribus *Persis* ad *Islemismum* descendentibus. *Id. Cap. 1.* Ex voces quæ apud *Herodotum* & alios de lingua *Persicâ* seu *Parthicâ* esse dicuntur, revera sunt ex *Medicâ*, vel si non maximi earum pars. Illa ipsa lingua *Medica* est quæ hodiè in *Elizande* & *Mediâ* & *Parthia* & *Chorasân* (exceptis quibusdam locis) jam obtinet, & olim cum *Medico* Imperio ibi plantata fuit. Hæcque *Mediorum* Lingua Veterem Linguam *Persicam* reddidit mixt. m. et præse obsoletam efficit. — Lingua *Medica* ex aliis mixta est, sc. ex *Hebræâ*, *Gracâ*, & *Ionicâ* seu *Gothicâ*. — Ut haud mirum est si ex *Parthorum* bello cum *Romanis* aliquæ voces *Latine* etiam in Lingua *Partho-Medicâ* reperiantur, cum etiam *Pharantes* 4 suos filios *Romæ* educandos misit. *Id. Cap. 35.*

W Enimvero, quæ de Linguarum plurimarum Origine ab *Hebræâ*, vel aliâ huic vicinâ, & successivo apud Populos præcipuos & præcipue per Europam celebratos orta — scribuntur, ea magnâ ex parte quidem pro veris aut verisimilibus haberi possunt; sed ex multis consistunt in incertissimis conjecturis aut traditionibus, sed nihil admodum faciunt contra primum ortum Diversitatis Linguarum in *Babel* hinc nominatâ quam *Mosès* tradidit, & quæ quousque processerit ab initio primo, nostrum non est determinare. Ut si sic ex Linguarum *Europæarum* hodiernarum orta à *Latinâ*, ex translatione in varias Asiæ, *Africæ*, & *Americæ* partes jure nemo concluderet, nullam aliam Linguarum varietatem videri obtinuisse, quam quæ sic per sæculorum lapsum introducta sit occasione diffusæ *Romanæ* Potentiæ. *Muræus Exercitat. Philolog. 1. §. 22.*

you the contrary y. It was obvious enough not only to great, but common Capacities, that if the Antient and Primitive Languages of *Europe, Asia* and *Africa* lay still undisco-

y Ut ratio ad primum aliquem hominem nos deduxit, ita & ad unam aliquam primam linguam nos eadem deducat oportet &c. Et hanc quidem temporis progressu multipliciter immutatam fuisse suspicari quis posset, *si dialecto tantum differrent. Sed multas linguas esse nemo ignorat, quarum radices omnino diverse sunt, & quæ nil prorsus commune habent, nisi paucula forte verba, unà cum peregrinis mercibus commeantia* &c. Superest, ut qui colonias in variis Orbis partes duxerunt, illas consulto excogitarent. At quæ Vanitas! & quæ ætas in eam rem sufficiat? Et quid inde commodi aut inventores aut comites sperare possint? Imo quis calamitatem & cladem publicam esse non videat? non scientiam, sed ignorantiam, non voluptatem sibi, sed posteris tormentum? Ergo distat nobis hic Ratio, quod Scriptura dicit, *ab initio unam solummodo linguam fuisse, & ab hominibus non linguas certè diversas multiplicatasve, sed à linguis Homines.* Mornæus ap. Joan. Marckium Exercit. Philolog. 1. §. 22.

Unde tot Linguarum Varietas per Orbem Terrarum, si non Divinâ immissione? Præadamita nescio unde derivet sermonum diversitatem. Scio illud, nec unam quidem Linguam produci posse conjunctis Sapientum consiliis, nec unquam factam esse. Possunt sibi fingere voces multas diversas ut ne intelligantur; sed linguam totâ ratione suâque plenitudine aliam nulla hominum sapientia genuerit. Hæc quidem natura linguarum est, ut facile habitum mutant. — *Sed aliud est efflorescere alia vocabula, aliud lingua genus universum intercidere.* Linguam posse interire fatemur, sed missionibus gentium & longo seculorum lapsu, qui tamen radices relinquit, et si comam ramosque & Grammaticam mutet, uti factum in Linguâ Gallicâ, Italicâ, Hispanicâ, quæ de radice Latinâ, succisâ illâ primâ Romani veterisque Sermonis Arbore, propullularunt. Linguam igitur deleri, & penitus novam enasci non eveniat annorum millibus, nisi indueris peregrinitatem ab alio Sermone. Sic autem opprimitur potius, quam ætatis suæ senio & vitio emoritur. Adeo dixeris illas quæ hodiè extent sermonum diversitates & differentias esse mixturas & farragines illarum Linguarum quas Babylone Deus hominibus immisit. Schotanus ap. eund. ibid. §. 24. Vid. et. Wooton Confus. Babel.

ver'd, without any natural *Source* or *Origin* assign'd them by *Men of Letters*, the Scripture-History could not possibly suffer the least Imputation or Prejudice from *tracing* the modern Derivatives, Dialects, and Branches, the genuine Offspring of length of Time, and the *Mutability of Human affairs*. And that this is really the Case, we have ample assurance from the tacit and express Confession of Linguists and Criticks. Who is there among them of Note and Character that offers and pretends to trace *with Demonstration* (as you term it) the *Teutonical, Tartarick, Sclavonick, Greek*, (which are call'd *Matrices* or Mother-Languages *) to any other Source but that of *Babel*? Who is there, that tells us the Antient and Original Languages of *Egypt* and *Africa*? Who has ever *deduc'd* the Natural Cause and History of the *Persian* and the *Chinese*? Or what was the Language of *Carthage* before the *Phœnician* was there introduc'd by *Phœnician Colonies*? To say nothing of those mention'd in the *Acts* of the *Apostles* Ch. 2. v. 9. & *seq.* From hence you may see one evident Reason why *Men of Letters* in tracing the Origin of Languages, have seldom thought it necessary to run back to *Babel*. Because the Language whose Origin has really been trac'd by the Men of Letters, had no Existence till hundreds not to say

* Walton Proleg. 1. Joseph. Scalig. Ling Europ.

thousands of Years after the building that Tower. For what a ridiculous Figure would *Gesner* or *Scaliger* or *Bochart* have made in Chronology, and Critique, if they had refer'd the *French*, *Italian*, *English* and many other Tongues to the Babel-Confusion ! As on the other side, what arrant Triflers and Children in Reason must they have necessarily appear'd, if because they had found some Languages, taking their Rise from natural Causes 4 or 5 hundred Years ago, they had argu'd against any miraculous Variety of Languages at the Distance of 4 or 5 thousand ! I am almost weary of explaining a Thing so Clear and Palpable. I will therefore add but one word or two more on this Head, in Relation to the *Hebrew*. You seem to think that because the *Hebrew* has been prov'd by many Antients and Moderns, to have been the first and common Language of Mankind, it has also been prov'd, that all other Languages are to be look'd upon only as so many *natural* Dialects or Branches of it. But this is a great Error; (and I have in part confuted it before) For your Inference is not supported either by Antients or Moderns. You quote *St. Jerom* in his Comment on *Sophoniah* for your Opinion, but utterly mistake his meaning. He did not intend to insinuate any doubt of the Babel-Confusion (for that would directly contradict what he says on

another

another occasion^z) but the Sense of the Passage is only, that as the *Hebrew* is Prior to all other Languages, so many *Hebrew* words have pass'd out of that into other Tongues. And thus He explains himself in his Comment on *Isaiah*^a. And thus he is understood, and interpreted by *Pererius* and *Bochart*^b. As to the Moderns, it cannot indeed be denied, that many of them have endeavour'd to prove that the *Hebrew* was the first and common Language of all. But I will venture to affirm, that you cannot produce any single Modern of considerable Character and Learning, that ever endeavour'd to prove, that in Process of Time, through the Causes above hinted at, i. e. purely natural Causes, all other Languages sprang out of it as naturally as many shoots from the same Root,

z Tradit. *Hebraica* in *Genes.* 10. *Nemrod*, Filius *Chus* arripuit insuetam primus in populo Tyrannidem, regnavitque in *Babylone*, quæ ab eo quod ibi confusa sunt Lingua *Turrim* ædificantium *Babel* appellata est. *Babel* enim interpretatur confusio. — *Heber*, à quo *Hebrai*, vaticinio quodam filio suo *Phaleg* nomen imposuit, qui interpretatur, Divisio, ab eo quod in diebus ejus Lingua in *Babylone* diuina sunt.

a Omnium pene Linguarum verbis utantur *Hebræi*. *Comm.* in *Isa.* Lib. 3. Cap. 7.

b *Pererius* in *Genes.* Lib. 16. Hactenus ex *Augustino*. Cujus Opinionis summa est, *Hebraam* Linguam fuisse primam omnium, eaque usum esse omne Genus Hominum ante ædificationem turris *Babel*. — Eadem est *B. Hieronymi* sententia, is enim super tertium caput *Sophoniae*, &c. *Bochart Geogr. Sacr.* Lib. 1. Cap. 15. Communis illa omnium hominum lingua qualis fuerit, his verbis docet *Hierosolymitanus* Interpres &c. — Sic *Hieronymus* in *Sophonia* Cap. 3. attulit Linguam *Hebraicam* omnium Linguarum esse Matricem.

many

many branches from the same Stock. I can easily guess at the Cause of your mistake; You perhaps might have seen some Learned Moderns *deriving* other Languages in some measure from the *Hebrew*; this I know to have been done by several, from *Buxtorf*^c, *Bp. Walton*^d, and others. But they did not derive them from the *Hebrew* by *natural Causes*, or in *Process of Time*, excluding all Intervention of the Divinity, for they all believ'd and follow'd the Scripture History, as I have shewn you before. Those words of yours therefore are added without any ground or Foundation, and speak at random nothing but Fancy and Fiction. And besides this the most judicious *Bp. Walton*, deservedly Censures them for going so far in this sort of *Derivation* as they did. For the whole ground and strength of their Argument, was the Appearance of many *Hebrew* words in other Languages, whereas the same thing happens in almost all sorts of Languages with regard to one another. There being hardly any one Language known, that does not borrow great numbers of Words from others, as well as from the *Hebrew*^e. While I was

^c *Buxtorf. Diff. 2. p. 65.*

^d *Walton. Proleg. 3. §. 8. Proleg. 1. §. 10.*

^e Statuendum est non omnes Linguas ex Hebraicâ ortas esse, ita ut reliquæ ejus tantum sint Dialecti, prout *multi* opinantur, qui omnes Linguas ad *Hebraicas* Origines revocare student. Est quidem *Hebræa* omnium antiquissima; ejusque *Reliquiæ*

writing this, I met with Dr. *Wootton's* Dissertation on this very Subject, I read it over with a great deal of Pleasure and with equal satisfaction, to find so curious a Critick agreeing with me in every Article, where we both had touch'd upon the same point. It may possibly be imagin'd that what he relates of Mr. *Le Clerc*, Mr. *Reland*, and some others, is a strong Confirmation of what you had suggested, that the *story of Babel, had not made any great Impression on Men of Letters*. He tells us indeed^f, that *several very good and religious, as well as very Learned and Ingenious Men*, had thought that the only Act of God in the Babel-Confusion was *the making the Workmen quarrel; and thereby inducing them to part, and so leave their Work unfinish'd*. But yet, you see, some Act of God they all appear to have believ'd in that extraordinary

quædam in omnibus scilicet Linguis reperiuntur; quædam etiam Lingue magnam cum *Hebræâ* affinitatem habent, præsertim quæ *Babylon* viciniores, ut de *Chaladicâ*, *Arabicâ*, *Syriacâ*, *Æthiopicâ* &c. aliis videmus, unde ejus Filix & dialecti improprie dici possunt; proprie tamen & strictè loquendo, lingue sunt diversæ, quarum qui unam callet, alteram fortè non intelligit. — *Multa* sanè *Verba* sunt in *diversis* *Linguis*, quæ eundem sonum, imò & significationem habent, non tamen ejusdem sunt Originis, nec *Linguarum una ab alterâ derivatur*. Similitudo enim hæc Vocum quarundam Casu accidere potest, prout multi sunt vultu similes, non tamen ab iis prognati quorum vultus referunt, & nulla ferè est *Lingua*, quæ ex aliis *verba* quædam non sit mutuata, ex commercio mutuo, coloniis novis, aliisque Causis. Hoc itaque fixum sit, *varias & reverà diversas fuisse linguas primævas non Primæ Dialectos*. Proleg. 1. §. 10.

^f Pag. 6. 7.

Event, agreeably to the sacred Text, and *look'd upon it to be equally the work of God, whether they quarrell'd with one another by his Command, or parted for want of understanding one another's Speech.* They like Men of Judgment and Understanding, knew very well the just and proper Extent of their own Knowledge, and found no manner of Difficulty in reconciling whatever Discoveries they made either probable or certain, with sacred History. So that your fallacious Insinuation, that any *Men of Letters* had reject'd the whole *story of Babel* as recorded in *Genesis*, is without the least Countenance from any Quarter. It is saying and inferring more than was ever thought or dreamt of, by the *Tracers of Languages*, they being Men of Religious Principles founded on Reason, Learning, and Truth, that had studied themselves into the justest Abhorrence and Contempt of all Profaneness, Impiety, and *Free-thinking*. The only account that I can possibly give of your gross Misrepresentation of them, is from your not distinguishing between Scripture itself and one certain Interpretation of it. As to Scripture, there is not a single Verse, Word, or Syllable in the 11th Chapter of *Genesis*, relating to the Babel-Confusion, whose divine Authority was ever Disputed by the *Tracers of Languages*. The only thing in Dispute and

Con-

Controversy among them, was the proper Sense and meaning. שפה *Sapha Lip* or *Language*, נבלה *Nabelá let us confound*, & בלל *balál confounded*, were ever allow'd to be of sacred Original, however the *Men of Letters* were divided in their different interpretations of those words. And you may with equal propriety of thought and Expression, suggest and pronounce other Passages innumerable in both Old and New Testament, *suspected, uncertain, precarious, and making but little impression on Men of Learning*, because their Obscurity and Ambiguity has so much divided the Men of Learning in their Opinions about them.

The whole of what has been said, may receive so much Light and Confirmation from the late very Learned and judicious Compilers of Universal History, that I need not scruple inserting the following Passage from them.

The speaking one common language (though it might be of advantage to mankind in other respects) yet being the great obstacle to that division of them into distinct nations which God had for most wise purposes resolved on, he thought fit to break this bond which held them so strictly together, and confound their language, that they should not understand one anothers speech; the natural consequence of which was that they were scattered abroad upon the face of all the earth.

earth. This event is mentioned by profane historians, who write that mankind used one and the same language till the overthrow of the tower of Babylon; at which time a multiplicity of tongues was introduced by the gods: whereupon wars ensued, and those whose speech happened to be intelligible to each other, joined company, and seized such countries as they chanced to light upon.

As to the degree of this Babylonish confusion, and the manner wherein it was effected, there is great diversity of sentiments. Several learned Men, prepossessed with an opinion that all the different idioms now in the world did at first arise from one original language, to which they may be reduced, and that the variety which we find among them is no more than must naturally have happened in so long a course of time, supposing a bare separation of the builders of Babel, have been induced to believe that there were no new languages formed at the confusion, but that the most that was done was only to set those builders at variance, by creating a misunderstanding among them. This some think to have been effected without any immediate influence on their language, which seems contrary to the words and obvious intent of the sacred historian: others have imagined it brought about by a temporary confusion of their speech, or rather of their apprehensions, causing them, while they continued together, though they spake the same language,

yet to understand the words differently. A third opinion is, that a variety of inflexions was introduced, and perhaps some new words, which disturbed and perverted the former manner of expression: and this might occasion different dialects, yet could not create new languages. But none of these explanations seem fully to answer the apparent design of Moses, which was not only to inform us how mankind were at first dispersed and broken into so many different nations, but to account for the diversity of their languages; a thing very difficult, if not impossible to do, without having recourse to some extraordinary interposition of the divine power. For though time, intercourse with foreign nations, commerce, the invention and improvement of arts and sciences, and the difference of climates cause very considerable alterations in languages, yet the utmost effect we can imagine them to have will not come up to the question. We cannot conceive a language can thereby be so much disfigured, that all the general marks and characteristics should disappear. It is not easy to apprehend how all the words of a language should be intirely changed for others; nor is there any one instance to be given of any such total change: but it is next to impossible to conceive that so great a diversity as we find in the frame and constitution of languages, wherein the grand and essential differences between them consist, rather than in the words which compose them,

them, (as may be observed in the accounts we shall hereafter give of the several languages of which we have any knowledge) could ever have been occasioned by the causes assigned above. The present diversity of tongues in the world is prodigious; and considering the time that has elapsed since the building of Babel, and the alterations made in some known languages in the course of one, two, and three thousand Years, (which alterations we constantly find greater or less in proportion to the intercourse the nation has had with foreigners) and considering that there are many tongues, which when compared with others have not the least affinity, so that a man must be the greatest visionary in the world to imagine them the offspring of the same parent, it seems to us that the variety of idioms now spoken can be no way possibly accounted for, without either approving the preadamite system, or allowing a formation of new languages at Babel. A very learned man, who warmly espouses the notion of deducing all languages from one, is yet so sensible that exceptions must be made, that he himself excludes the Languages of America and of the Indian islands out of the Number; adding, that some have thence rashly imagined, that the Men who speak those tongues are of a distinct species, and not the descendants of Adam: which concession is enough to overthrow the hypothesis he would maintain.

Some learned men however have endeavoured

to derive all languages in general from the Hebrew, which they imagine to be the parent of all others. That they should succeed very well in finding a great conformity between that and the other oriental tongues is no wonder, since they are manifestly sprung from one common original; though it be difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish the mother from the daughters. That they have also given tolerable satisfaction in deducing from the same tongue several words not only in the Greek and Latin, but in some other European languages, is not matter of much surprize, considering the great intercourse several nations of our continent had with the Phœnicians, whose mother tongue was the Hebrew. But when these Writers venture out of their depth, and pretend to deduce the more remote languages from the same fountain, they only shew their ignorance, and make themselves ridiculous to all who have but a moderate skill in those tongues; for a proof of which we could produce a multitude of examples from a celebrated and laborious work of that kind. As to the peculiar excellencies found in the Hebrew tongue by some of its patrons, and which they imagine to be an additional proof of the justness of its pretensions, we may say something hereafter, when we come to give an account of this language.

Upon the whole, we think we may reasonably conclude, with a very learned person whose sentiments on this head we entirely approve, that
upon

upon the confusion of Babel there were new languages framed; which languages have been the roots and originals from which the several dialects that are, or have been, or will be spoken as long as this earth shall last have arisen, and to which they may with ease be reduc'd.

In what manner these new languages were formed is a question hard to be determined; it seems by the Mosaical account, which is so solemn, and represents GOD as coming down in person to view the work of these builders, that it was the immediate act of GOD; and some have thence concluded, that he effected it by inducing an oblivion of their former tongue, and instantaneously infusing others into their minds, according to their several nations. The Jews imagine this was done by the ministry of Angels, seventy of whom descended with GOD, and were each of them set over a nation to which they taught a peculiar Language; but Israel fell to the lot of his own inheritance, the LORD'S portion being his People, and therefore, they say, they retained the primitive tongue. Others have supposed, that GOD did no more than cause them to forget their first language, leaving them to form new ones as they could; but this must have taken up some time, and could not answer the immediate occasions of mankind. As it would be to little purpose to enquire so curiously into this matter, as some have done, the best we can do is to conclude, that it was effected instantly, in a

way and manner of which we can give no account.

It would be of as little use to collect the several opinions in relation to the number of languages formed at Babel: we may as well allow the number of seventy, just mentioned, as any other. We only know from Moses, that the Canaanitish or Hebrew, the Syriac and Egyptian languages were formed so soon as the time of Jacob. It is most probable that the languages of the chief families were fundamentally different from each other, and that the sub-languages or dialects within each branch, for the sake of immediate intercourse, had a mutual affinity, some more, some less, according as they settled near or farther from each other. And this was sufficient to bring about the designs of God to divide mankind into distinct societies, kingdoms, and commonwealths, and thereby to occasion the making of wholesome laws, the keeping of strict discipline, the encouragement of labour and industry of liberal arts, and all social virtues, and the suppression of such vices as weaken government and introduce a corruption of morals. All which opened a new scene of providence, with a surprizing variety of wisdom, in the government of the world.

Before I dismiss this Subject, I cannot but offer a Consideration or two in answer to what Mr. Le Clerc has observ'd on the word שָׁפָה *Sapha*. He would have the word in-

interpreted *Agreement* or *Confederacy* not of *Language*; and then the 1st verse of *Genesis* Chap. 11. will run thus. *And the whole Earth was one Agreement, and of one Speech.* Now besides what Dr. *Wooton* has justly objected to this Interpretation, I cannot but think it very material, that the Verse concludes, *Udhebbharim Ahaabim* וְהִבְהָרִים אֶחָדִים *and of one Speech.* Which to me is a manifest exposition of the foregoing words, or at least such a Restriction of them, as renders Mr. *Le Clerc*'s interpretation of the word *Sapha* either improper or ineffectual. But a Passage a little lower seems to be a clear and indisputable confutation of it, in verse 7. *Let us go down and there confound their Language, that they may not understand one another's Speech.* These last words have a singular Weight and Authority in them, and serve not only to overthrow Mr. *Le Clerc*, but to establish also the general Opinion, that Confusion of Languages was really an Act of the Divine Power and Wrath. The *Hebrew* word which we translate *Speech* is *Sapha*, as in the beginning of this 7th and the 1st Verse. Now substitute in this place Mr. *Le Clerc*'s *Agreement* or *Confederacy*, and then the Passage will run thus, *that they may not understand one another's Confederacy.* Where is the Sense? Every one must see the evident necessity of interpreting *Sapha*, with *Vatablus*, *Drusius*, *Bochart*,

chart, Grotius, and others, Lip or Language. And if *Sophia* must necessarily have that Sense in the latter part of the Verse, it must also have the same Sense in the beginning both of this 7th and the 1st Verse, in order to preserve the just *anthesis*. This Argument, I confess, seems to me unanswerable, and perhaps its force may be favourably allow'd by so great a Professor of Reason and Critique as Mr. *Le Clerc*.

I will now conclude this Discourse with several very remarkable and considerable Testimonies neither *Jewish* nor *Christian* in favour of the *Mosaic* History of Babel. The first is from a Fragment of *Abydenus's* Assyrian History preserv'd in Eusebius.

There are some (says he) who relate, that the first of Mankind, rising out of the Earth, and elated exceedingly with their (prodigious) strength and size, and thinking, to make themselves superior even to the Gods themselves, rais'd a monstrous high Tower, and that they had almost got up to Heaven, when the Winds coming to the Assistance of the Gods, overturn'd their structure about them; and that having continued till

g Præpar. Evang. Lib. 9. Cap. 14. 'Εντὶ δ' οὐ λέγουσι τὰς πρῶτας ἐκ τῆς ἀναρχίας, ῥῶμην τε καὶ μεγαλὴν χυριασίνην, καὶ δὴ τοῖον καταφρονητικὴν ἀσθένειαν εἶναι (παρρησιῶν) τὴν ἐν ἡλίω τινι ἀείρειν, ὥς οὖν βαυλῶν ἐπὶ ἡδὴ ἄστρον εἶναι τῷ ἔρεινῳ καὶ τὰς ἀνέμους θεοῖσι βοῦντας (vel βοῦθέντας, Cyrillo ἀδιδόντας) ἀνατρεψαί περὶ αὐτοῖσι τὸ μηχανήματα τῷ δόξα ἐρείπειν λεγούσιν βαυλῶνα. Τίως δ' εἶπεν; ἀπογλώσσει; ἐκ θεῶν πολλῶν (forte, πολλῶρον) φωνὴν ἐείκησεν.

thas

that time of one and the same language, were thenceforward divided by the Gods into many. This passage of *Abydenus*, is quoted likewise by *Cyril*, in his first Book against *Julian* with very little Variation.

The next is of the famous *Alexander*, call'd from his great Learning *Polyhistor*, who flourish'd in *Sylla's* time, about the 173d *Olympiad*. He not only appears as an Evidence himself, but produces two others in Attestation of the same thing. Thus he speaks in *Eusebius*^h.

Eupolemus in his *Treatise of the Jews* (the Latin Interpreter *Vigerus* is much mistaken in his Version of this Passage) says, that *Babylon* the City of *Assyria*, was first built by those who were sav'd from the Deluge; that they were Giants, and that they were the Persons that rais'd the Tower, so much celebrated in History. But that upon its being overthrown by the immediate Act of God the Giants were dispers'd over the whole Earth.

The same Author in *St. Cyril* produces a *Sibyl*, delivering Her self to this effectⁱ.

^h Ibid Cap. 17. 'Ευπόλεμος δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἰουδαίων, τῆς Αἰουρίας (not as in the Editions, Ἰουδαίων τῆς Αἰουρίας,) φησὶ πόλιν Βαβυλῶνα πρῶτον μὲν κτισθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν διασθεντῶν ἐκ τῆ κατακλισμῆ· εἶναι δὲ αὐτὰς Γίγαντας· οἰκοδομῆσαι δὲ τὴν ὑπερέμμενον πύργον. Μεσότητος δὲ τῆς ὑπὸ τῆς τῆ θεῆ ἐνεργείας τῆς Γίγαντας διασπαρῆναι καθ' ὅλην τὴν γῆν.

ⁱ Lib. 1. cont. *Julian*. Σίβυλλα δὲ φησιν, ὁμοφάντων ἔντων πάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τίνες τεταὶ πύργον ὑπερμεγέθη οἰκοδομήσαντες, ὅπως εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβῶσι, τῆ δὲ θεῆ ἀκούεις τῷ πύργῳ ἐκφυγόντες, ἀνὰ τρεῖς αὐτὸν καὶ ἰσὺν εἶναι φωνῇ ἐκείνῃ· οὐ δὲ βασιλῶν τῆς πόλεως κληθῆναι.

The *Sibyl* says, That all Mankind being (for some time) of one Language, some of them built a prodigious Tower, in order to scale Heaven; But that God sending down his Winds upon the Tower, (totally) overthrew it and gave to every one a distinct Language; and that from thence the City was call'd Babylon.

The very words of the *Sibyl* are extant in *Josephus's Antiquities*^k.

These small but rare and valuable Fragments of Antiquity, how little soever they may seem to influence the Question in dispute, may at least, I hope, have the general Effect of all other ancient History upon you and the Reader, in giving a sensible Pleasure to the Mind, and agreeable Entertainment to a Learned Curiosity.

k Lib. i. Cap. 4. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ πύργου τούτου, καὶ τῆς ἀλλοφωνίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, μνησθήσεται καὶ Σίεσυλλα λέγουσα ἕως· Πάντων ὁμοφώνων ἦν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, πύργον ἀκοδόμησαν πύργος ὑψηλίστατος, ὃς ἐπὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναδοξάσμενοι οἱ αὐτοὶ. Οἱ δὲ θεοὶ ἀνέμους ἐπιπέμπαντες, ἀνέστρεψαν τὸν πύργον, καὶ ἰδίαν ἐκάστη φωνὴν ἔδωκαν.

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*Aut hæc in nostros fabricata est machina muros,
Aut aliquis latet Error ; Equo nè credite, Tencri.*
Virg. *Æneid.* lib. 2.

The SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. WATTS at the Printing-Office in
Wild-Court near Lincoln's-Inn Fields.

MDCCXXXII.



S I R,



WHETHER Dr. *Waterland* has deserv'd the Treatment, which he has receiv'd in your *Letter* address'd to Him by way of Answer to what has been publish'd under the Title of *Scripture Vindicated*, is a Point which every Reader must judge of, especially when that Author shall be at leisure to do Justice to himself, and his Arguments.

Dr. *Waterland*'s Name is not prefix'd to that Work, and therefore (to use your own Words in a like Case, page 6.) *I presume that you have Reason to know Him to be the Author of that Pamphlet you are confuting; or else with what Sense or Justice can you impute to One Man what Another has said*

or

or written? But common Fame seems to have been Ground enough for You, tho' it was not enough for Him to proceed upon; and the Doctor's Character as a Learned and Rational Advocate for Christianity, was to feel the Weight of your Wit and Reading: He had done too much Good, not to receive Ill at the Hands of the Favourers of Infidelity.

My present Business with you, Sir, is not to defend Him, or whoever was the Author of that Pamphlet; nor to enter into Dispute about the Reasonings, in which He and his Adversary are engag'd; nor about those which you have advanc'd in your Letter with the Appearance of so much Self-sufficiency: But my Design is, to set before you and expostulate with you, about the many Falshoods which your Letter abounds with, both in the Quotations and Historical Facts insisted upon by You. If any such are to be found in your Letter (as you will soon see), the Reader will judge how inconsistent such a Proceeding is in one, who declares, as you do Page 46, that *it is the Business and Study of your Life in every Enquiry (whether Civil, Natural or Religious)*

gious) to search for and embrace the Truth; or, where that is not certainly to be had, what comes the next to it, Probability. If this be true, you have the *Business of your Life* to go over again; for I hope to convince you, that you have hardly made one original Quotation of an Author in his True Sense, very often in the Sense most opposite to his True one; and have represented not only Passages but Facts too in so wrong a Light, that whatever you *searched for*, it is plain you have mis'd of Truth.

[1] To begin with your Quotations.

In the Story of the *Fall* of our first Parents you think, Page 18, that there is a *Necessity of flying to Allegory, to account for the seeming Injustice and unreasonable Severity of the Divine Conduct*: And lest Your Reason should possibly be suspected as *prejudic'd*, you appeal to Cicero, whose Sentiments (you say there) declar'd in some cases, nearly allied to the present, may serve to inform us, what unprejudiced Reason would determine upon the *Literal Story of Man's Fall*. Cicero, you say, was one of the greatest Masters of Reason that Antiquity ever produced, an Authority which cannot be charg'd either with

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Prejudice or Partiality, with favouring or detracting from the Credit of Moses. And yet as you have quoted him, you have plainly forsook the Example of so great a Master of Reason, and have shew'd both Prejudice and Partiality ; for,

1. You say, Page 18, *Cicero* tells us (a), *That the very Gods of the Poets had they known how pernicious their Gifts would prove to their Children, must be thought to be wanting in point of Kindness towards them. To this Effect, it is true, Cicero speaks, but not in his own Name: The Speaker is Cotta, who in that Dispute argues against Religion by way of Reply to what Balbus had said for it in the second Book: At this Dispute Cicero tells us that he was present, and concludes the third Book with saying (b), The event of the Dispute was this, that Velleius thought Cotta's Disputation the truer, and I thought Balbus's the more Probable of the two. And in his Book de Divinat. his Brother*

(a) *Atque ii tamen ipsi Dii Poetici, si scissent pernicioſa fore illa filiis, peccaſſe in beneficio putarentur. De Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 31.*

(b) *Ita diſceſſimus, ut Velleio Cottæ diſputatio verior, mihi Balbi ad veritatis ſimilitudinem videretur eſſe propenſior. De Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. ult.*

Quinctus says [a], *The Defence which Lucilius Balbus made for Religion in the second Book (of the Nature of the Gods) is satisfactory; whose Disputation, as you declare in your last Book, seem'd to You the more Probable of the two.* You have quoted *Cicero* then as saying what he does *not* say; and what we must rather think he would never have said, as his own Sense of the thing; because he declares in general against the Side which *Cotta* chose, and the Arguments which he us'd to defend it. Nay, he makes *Cotta* himself acknowledge at last that what he had said, was not (b) even His real Opinion, but rather for Argument's sake, and that he was willing to be refuted: And is this an Authority of *Cicero*, which is not so much as *Cotta's*? How hard soever it may seem, to find out certainly *Cicero's* true Sentiments, yet we may be certain of what are *not* his Sentiments, when he *declares* against them.

(a) *Satis enim defensa religio est in secundo libro à Lucilio; cujus disputatio tibi ipsi, ut in extermo tertio scribis, ad veritatem est visa propensior. De Divin. l. 1 c. 5.*

(b) *Tum Cotta, Ego verò & opto redargui me, Balbe, & ea, quæ disputavi, differere malui quàm judicare: & facile me à te vinci posse, certò scio. De Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 40.*

2. Again Page 19, you quote *Cicero* as exclaiming thus (a), *Oh the wonderful Equity of the Gods! would any People endure the making of such a Law, that the Son or Grandson should be punished, because the Father or Grandfather had offended?* These again are *Cotta's* Words in the Dispute before mention'd; and therefore are equally disclaimed by *Cicero*; what a Pity it is that so great a Master of Reason should have such a Follower in You, that can't distinguish his Notions from the very Contrary!

3. In the same Page you make *Cicero* say (b) *It is the common Opinion of all Philosophers, of what Sect soever, that the Deity can neither be angry nor hurt any Body.* But pray, Sir, look again into his Book of *Offices*, and see whether *Cicero* does not put these Words into the Mouth of an (c) Ob-

(a) *O miram aequitatem Deorum! ferretne ulla civitas latorem istiusmodi legis, ut condemnaretur filius aut nepos, si pater aut avus deliquisset?* De Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 38.

(b) *At hoc commune est omnium Philosophorum ——— nunquam nec irasci Deum, nec nocere.* De Offic. l. 3. c. 28.

(c) *Quid est igitur, dixerit quis, in iurejurando? num iratum timemus Jovem? ad hoc quidem commune est omnium Philosophorum, &c.*

jector.

jector. In (a) another Place he says partly the same thing; but then again he mentions it not as his own Opinion, but as the Opinion of others: And tho' he acknowledges, (in answer to the Objection, which you quote for his Sentiment) that (b) *the Gods are never angry*, in the Sense that Christians deny Anger to have a Place in God, *i. e.* as a Passion; yet he no where denies that the Gods might *punish* Men for their Sins: On the contrary he affirms in the same Treatise (c) that *Piety and Holiness of Life were Qualities, which would appease the Gods*; and lays it down as a Rule (d) that *Punishment should always be without Anger*. So that by denying that the Deity is ever *Angry*, he does not deny that he ever *punishes*: And then without being *surprized* (as you suppose he would have been), he might have read the Scripture Story of God's *punishing* our first Parents for their Transgression, and

(d) *Sed, quia Deos nocere non putant, &c.* Ib. l. 2. c. 3.

(b) *Jam enim non ad iram Deorum, quæ nulla est, &c.* Ib. l. 3. c. 29.

(c) *Deos placatos Pietas efficiet & Sanctitas.* Ib. l. 2. c. 3.

(d) *Prohibenda autem maximè est ira in puniendo.* Ib. l. 1. c. 25.

might have believ'd too more of the Truth of it, than You seem to do.

4. You conclude your Quotations from *Cicero* with telling us, Page 20, that upon mention of a Dream of *Alexander* the Great, that a *Serpent* appeared to him, &c. *Cicero* laughs at the Story, and says (a), *The Serpent seem'd to talk with Alexander : This, whether true or false, has nothing strange in it, since he did not really hear him speak, but only seem'd to do so.* From hence you argue thus, *How would he have laugh'd at the literal Story of a Serpent actually speaking and reasoning, without moving the least Wonder or Surprise in the Hearer ?* Here I shall but barely mention that what you infer from *Cicero's* Words, is as far from being a Consequence as your Left Hand is from being your Right ; for he who laugh'd at what was pretended only to be a Dream, might not have laugh'd at, nay might have believ'd, a *Literal Story of a Serpent actually speaking and reasoning*, when

(a) *Alexandro loqui draco visus est : potest hoc esse falsum, potest verum ; sed utrum sit, non est mirabile : non enim audivit ille draconem loquentem, sed visus est audire.*
De Divin. 1. 2. c. 68.

so well attested as it is by *Moses*, the Gravest and the most Ancient of Historians, and who pretended to be an inspir'd Writer. But pray how does it appear that *Cicero* laugh'd at this Story of *Alexander's* Dream? This is your own merry Invention; for he is so far from *laughing* at it, that he does not actually disbelieve it, he says *it may be true*, that *Alexander* dream'd so; all that he affirms is, that there was nothing in it *strange* or to be wonder'd at, because it was only a Dream; from which all that I can collect is this, that a literal Story of such a Fact *Cicero* would have thought to be *strange* or wonderful; and such the Story of the *Serpent* speaking to *Eve* might have seem'd to Him, as it does to Us, and yet He might have believ'd it upon good Authority, as Jews and Christians do.

5. You come *p. 25*, to consider what the Author of *Scripture vindicated* had said with relation to *the Divine Institution of Circumcision*; which you, Sir, think with the Author of *Christianity as Old as the Creation* to have been borrow'd from *Egypt*. The Testimonies of *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus* and *Strabo*, you quote and insist upon as
three

three good Testimonies to prove that *Circumcision* was originally an *Egyptian Rite*, and from them deriv'd to other Nations: But of what are they a Testimony? do they prove that *Circumcision*, as practis'd among the *Jews*, was practis'd among the *Egyptians*? that is, that every *Egyptian* was circumcised? I think not; tho' as you have quoted *Josephus*, you have made him say so in these Words of yours, *p. 27, The Egyptians are All circumcised and abstain from Swine's-flesh — Wherefore Apion is a Fool to abuse the Jews for the sake of those, who not only use the very Customs he finds fault with, but who taught other People also the Use of Circumcision, as Herodotus has inform'd us.* But *Josephus* speaks quite otherwise, and to the following Purpose, (a) *If any one should ask Apion, which of all the Egyptians he thinks the wisest and the most*

(a) Εἴ τις αὐτὸν ᾔετο, τῶν πάντων Αἰγυπτίων τίνας εἶναι καὶ σοφωτάτους καὶ θεοσεβεῖς νομίζει, πάντως ἂν ὁμολόγησε τοὺς ἱερεῖς· δύο γὰρ αὐτὸς φασὶν ὑπὲρ τῶν βασιλέων ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταῦτα περσετάχθαι, τὴν τε τῶν θεῶν θεράπεια καὶ τὴν σοφίας τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν· ἐκείνοι τόνον ἀπαντὶς καὶ πεινόμενοι, καὶ χειρῶν ἀπεχομένη βρωμάτων, &c. *Contra Apion*, l. 2. c. 13.

religious, he would readily answer the Priests; for They say, that their Kings from the Beginning committed to their Care the Worship of the Gods, and the Improvement of Wisdom; now those (the Priests) are all of them circumcised and abstain from Swine's-flesh too.— Apion therefore was blind, when he set himself to abuse us Jews for the sake of Egyptians, and found fault with those (the Priests), who not only use the same Customs which he blames, but have taught others also to be circumcised, as Herodotus has said. Is it not plain here, Sir, that Josephus does not speak of any Egyptians as Circumcis'd, but the Priests only? are all the Priests, all the Egyptians? you your self must see the Difference: but if you had translated Josephus right, your Argument wou'd have been spoiled, and that mis-led you, whether willingly or not, you best know: Besides, I should gather from what Josephus says here of Herodotus, that he understood him as meaning that the Egyptian Priests only were circumcis'd; and that these Priests taught the Priests of other Nations to be so too, under Pretence that Circumcision was necessary in such for the sake not of Cleanliness,

linefs, as you render *Herodotus* Word καθαροτης, but of *Purity*; they thought, that, as those who were devoted to the Care of Divine things ought to be purer and holier than other Men, this Rite of *Circumcision* was a Mark and Emblem of *Purity*, just as among the *Jews* all *uncircumcis'd* Men were reckon'd *impure* and *unclean*.

Since you frequently quote *Calmet's* *Dissertations*, I would recommend to your careful Perusal, what that learned Author has said in his Discourse upon *the Origin of Circumcision*; for you will find a great Variety of Authors there quoted, all agreeing in this, that *Circumcision* was *not* generally practis'd by the *Egyptians*. And *Calmet* is as good an Authority, when what he writes helps to strengthen the Truth of *Moses's* History, as He is, when you cite any Passage from him which seems to weaken it.

6. But it is not enough that you make *Josephus* misrepresent the *Egyptian* Nation; for you go on *p. 27.* to make him give up the Divine Mission of his own Legislator *Moses*: This is your Master-piece of Quotation, and therefore I shall endeavour to set the Falshood of it in the clearest Light

Light that I can, placing your Translation of *Josephus's* Words in one Column, and Mine in the opposite, with the Original underneath; that every one who is skill'd in the *Greek* Tongue may judge which of us two has most exactly follow'd the Meaning of that Historian.

Josephus in giving a Character of *Moses* as of an *excellent Governor and wise Legislator*, &c. adds,

As You render it.

As I render it.

Such an one, whose (a) When his De- Intentions were so just sign was commendable, and noble, might rea- and his Actions great, sonably presume that we (or he) believ'd he had God for his rightly that he had Guide and Counsel- God for his Guide and lor; Counsellor;

And, having once And he, being first persuaded himself of persuaded himself, that this, he judg'd it ne- he acted and directed cessary above all things all things by the Will to instill the same of God, judg'd it ne-

(a) Καλῆς ἦν αὐτῷ προαρέσεως καὶ προξίων μεγάλων ἐπιτυχχανομῶν, εἰκότως ἐνομιζομῶν (the old *Latin* Version reads ἐνόμιζε) ἠγεμόνα τε καὶ σύμβουλον θεῶν ἔχειν

καὶ πείσας πρότερον ἑαυτὸν, ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου βέλησιν ἀπαντα πράττει καὶ διανοῆται ταύτῳ ᾧετο δεῖν πρὸ παντὸς ἐμποῖῃσαι τὸ ὑπόληψιν τοῖς πλῆθεσιν. οἱ γὰρ πειδυσαντες

Notion into the People, that every thing he did was directed by the Will of Heaven: necessary above all things to instill the same Opinion into the People; for they, who believe that God oversees their Lives and Actions, will not venture upon Sin:

Not acting herein the Part of a Magician or Impostor, as some have unjustly aspers'd him; Such was our Law-giver, not a Magician or Impostor, as those unjustly say, who reproach us:

But like the fam'd Law-givers of Greece; who to make their good Designs the more effectual, us'd to ascribe the Invention of their own Laws to the Gods; and more especially *Minos*, who im-

But such as the *Greeks* boast their *Minos* to have been, and other Law-givers which came after him; for some of them pretended that their Laws [were given them by *Jupiter*], and *Minos* said that his Laws were derived from *Apollo* and the *Delphick O-*

επισκοπεῖν θεὸν τὸ ἐαυτοῦ βίβει, ἐθὲν ἀνέχοντα θεμα-
τῶν.

Τοῦτο δ' ἤ τις αὐτὸς ἡμῶν ὁ νομοθέτης, ἔ γινῆς, ἐδ' ἀπατεῶν, ἅπερ λοιδορῶντες λέγουσιν ἀδίκως.

ἀλλ' οἷον πρὸς τοῖς Ἕλλησιν αὐχῶσι τὸν Μίνω γεγονέναι, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν τὸν ἄλλος νομοθέτας. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῆς νόμου ἐποτίθενται the (old Latin Version adds ποτίσας à Jove): ὁ δὲ γε Μίνως ἔλεγε, ὅτι εἰς τὸ Ἀπόλλω καὶ τὸ Δελφικὸν αὐτῷ μαρτήσαν τὰς τῶν νόμων μαρτίας ἀνέφερεν, ἥτοι τὰληθεὶς ὅπως ἔχουσιν νομίζοντες, ἢ πείσσειν ῥᾶον ὑπολαμβάνοντες. Τίς δ' ἢ ὁ μάλιστα κατορθώσας τὸν νόμον, καὶ
τίς

puted all his Institutions to *Apollo* and the *Delphick Oracle*. racle : all of them either in reality believing so, or thinking that by such a Pretence they could more easily persuade [Men to receive them] : but which of them (*i. e.* of *Moses* or the *Greek Law-givers*) made the best Laws, and which of them was rightest in their Persuasion that their Laws came from God, is easy to judge by making a Comparison of the Laws themselves.

In your Translation of *Josephus's* Words, where that Author says of *Moses*, *we rightly believed*, or (as the old *Latin* Interpreter better expresses it) *he rightly believed*, you very coldly render it, *he might reasonably presume*, as if *Moses* in *Josephus's* Judgment had only a *Reasonable Presumption*, and no better Warrant than This for concluding that he had *God for his Guide and Counsellor* ; And when he speaks of him in the

τις ὁ δίκαιότατα περὶ τῆς Θεῆς πίστεως (lege τὴν περὶ τῆς Θεῆς πίστεως) ἐπιτυχὼν, παρέσιν ἔξ αὐτῶν κατανοεῖν τῶν νόμων ἀντιστρατεύσασθαι. Contra Apion, l. 2, c. 16.

next Sentence, as of one who was *persuaded that he acted and directed all things by the Will of God*, before he mentions him as *instilling the same Opinion into the People*; you (skilfully enough for your Purpose) change the Place of the Words *that he acted and directed all things by the Will of God*, and by setting them last would make an unlearned Reader believe that this his *acting and directing all things by the Will of God*, was not what *Moses* was himself *persuaded of*, but what he endeavour'd only to *instill into the People*. And afterwards you represent *Josephus* as saying, that *Moses* was *like the fam'd Law-givers of Greece who — us'd to ascribe the Invention of their own Laws to the Gods, and especially like Minos, who imputed all his Institutions to Apollo and the Delphick Oracle*; According to which Parallel (as you word it) *Josephus* must acknowledge that his *Moses* did only *ascribe* the Invention of his Laws to God; that in Truth they were *his own Laws*, as *Theirs* were, and God was no more concern'd in the making them than *Jupiter* or *Apollo* was in the making those of *Minos* and the other Law-givers: But
(with

(with your Leave, Sir, or without it, for Truth has none to ask) does not *Josephus* plainly make the Comparison, not between what *Moses* and they were, but between what he *was*, and they *boasted* to be? his Laws (he says) *came* from Heaven, as they *pretended* theirs to do; and does not *Josephus* manifestly put a wide Difference between the *Jewish* and all other Law-givers, by adding (tho' you suppress'd these Words of his) that *which of them was rightest in their Persuasion that their Laws came from God, is easy to judge by making a Comparison of the Laws themselves.*

Pray, Sir, for the sake of Sincerity consider this whole Quotation over again, and weigh it more carefully than before. Then see if there be any room for the Conclusion which from hence you have taken Occasion to draw, *p. 28*, that *such a Declaration as this from so learned a Jew, in defending the Excellency and Preeminence of his own Religion, might teach us to entertain more moderate and qualified Sentiments concerning its divine Origin, as well as the divine Inspiration of its Founder Moses, &c.* for there is nothing in this whole Quota-
tion

tion which even seems to deny the *divine Origin* of the Law and the *Divine Inspiration* of its Founder, but what arises from your Misrepresentation of it. Such a Thought was as far from *Jesephus* in this Place, as your Attention or Sincerity was from You, when you read it ; and if you ever read his *Jewish Antiquities*, you must know that he never represents the Law, but as given to the *Jews* by God himself thro' the Hand of *Moses*, as only a Go-between or Mediator.

Is this, Sir, to *search for and embrace the Truth in every Enquiry* ? (as you profess to do, *p.* 46.) If a Man made it *not* the *Business and Study of his Life*, could he miss it more effectually (not to say luckily) than you have done here ?

7. But to proceed ; for I find you proceeding in the same Manner of misquoting : You tell us, *p.* 32, that *in fact we see many Customs and Constitutions in the Jewish Law, which are evidently deriv'd from this Source, i. e. the Egyptian.* To prove this, you instance in several Particulars, and say, that it appears from *Herodotus* (a) that

(a) that *the Egyptians were governed by Laws and Customs peculiar to themselves and different from those of other Nations.* This is Truth, but not the *whole Truth*; for *Herodotus* says, that *their Laws were different from those of all other Nations*: But you judg'd it necessary to drop the Word *all*, lest the Reader should perceive the Absurdity of your attempting to shew from this Passage, that the *Jews* agreed with Them in their Customs, *i. e.* that *the Egyptian Customs were not different from those of all other Nations.*

8. You next say, (*ib.*) that *the Egyptians were more addicted to Prodigies and Miracles, than any other People*: For this you quote the same *Herodotus*, whose Words rightly translated are these, (*b*) *more τέρατα prodigies were found out by them than by all other Men; for when a Prodigy happens,*

(a) Ελληνικοῖσι νομαίοισι φάγουσι χερᾶσαι· τὸ δὲ σύμ-
παν ἔπειν, μηδ' ἄλλων μηδαμᾶ μηδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων νε-
μαίοισι. L. 2. c. 91.

(b) Τέρατα πλέω σφὶν ἀνδύρηται ἢ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι πᾶσι
ἀνθρώποισι· γενομένη γὰρ τέρατις, φυλάσσει χερᾶμενοι
τὸ πιθαῖνον· καὶ ἢν κοτε ὑσερὴν παρρηπλήσιον τέτω γένηται,
κατα τῷ τὸ νομίζεσι ἀποβήσεσθαι. L. 2. c. 82.

they

they observe and write down the Event; and if afterwards any thing happens like it, (the Prodigy), they judge that the Event will be the same. Is there a Word here about *Miracles*? Is it not plain, that *Herodotus* does not mean *Miracles* here? for are they such things as could be found out by the *Egyptians* or any other Men? and does not he shew what he means by *τέρατα* *Prodigies*, when he speaks of the *Event* of them? monstrous Births, unusual *Phænomena* in the Heavens, and the like, are such things as come under his Account of a *τέρας* and of what the *Egyptians* gathered from it: and it is by this Name that *Herodotus*, l. 2. c. 46. calls an Unnatural Copulation which happen'd in his time. So that once more you deceive your Readers, and insinuate (even at the Expence of a false Quotation) that the *Miracles* which *Moses* wrought, were no other than a Practice which he borrowed from the *Egyptians*.

9. You add (*ib.*) that *the Egyptians had one High-priest as well as an Hereditary Priesthood descending from Father to Son.* In several Countries where there was a Priesthood, it is well known that the Priesthood

was hereditary, and that there was one *High-priest*, who presided over the rest: why then must the *Jews* have borrow'd this Custom from the *Egyptians* rather than from any other Nation? But it is unlucky for You, that according to *Herodotus* whom you quote, it was *not* the Practice of the *Egyptians* to have one *High-priest* in the Sense that you wou'd have us understand it in, *i. e.* one *High-priest* over the whole Nation as the *Jews* had; for your Historian says, that (a) *every God among the Egyptians had several Priests, one of which was the High-priest; not of Egypt, but of that Nome, and of all the Priests belonging to it; and there being (b) 36 Nomes or Counties, there must have been as many High-priests in Egypt: which is so different a Constitution from that of the Jews, that if you had fairly represented it, you could never have led your Reader to agree with you in concluding, that Moses borrow'd this Custom from Egypt, of all Countries under the Heaven.*

(a) Ἰερεῖται δὲ ἐκ ἑῶς ἐκάστου τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ, τῶν ἑῶς εἰς ἑνὶ ἀργυρεῶς. Lib. 2. c. 37.

(b) *Newton's Chron.* p. 218.

10. You go on p. 33. to say that *the Egyptians would not suffer any Leprous Person to come within the City*: for this Custom of theirs you refer to *Herodotus* again; *Lib. 2. c. 138.* but there is no such thing asserted there: you mistook the Place, I presume, and quoted from *Lib. 1. c. 138.* where this very Custom is mentioned indeed, tho' not as practis'd by the *Egyptians*, but the (a) *Persians*. So that here again your Reader is mis-led; and the Custom of one Nation, which *Moses* never knew, is represented as the Custom of another whom he dwelt among, on purpose to favour your Notion that he deriv'd it from the *Egyptians*.

11. Once more (*ib.*) you say, that the *Egyptians abhorred Swine's-flesh as impure and abominable*: for this you cite the same Author; and so far (it is true) You speak his Sentiments, that he says (b) *the Egyptians esteem'd a Hog to be an impure*

αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν ἄσυν λέπελιν ἢ λευκὸν ἔχει, ἐς πόλιν ἔτρεψε, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο. L. 1. c. 138.

αὐτὸν δὲ Ἀιγύπτῳ μιᾶς ἐκ τῶν θηρίων ὡς ἀκάθαρτον ἔτιμα. Lib. 2. c. 47.

Beast ; but he immediately adds (and You shou'd have added, if you had *search'd for Truth* only) that (a) *there were Swine-herds among them, and that at the time of the Full-moon they sacrificed Swine to Bacchus and Luna ; nay that at such Times (tho' at such Times only) they ate the Flesh of those Swine that had been sacrificed*: Here are three very material Circumstances then, in which the Behaviour of the *Jews* and *Egyptians* with regard to Swine, was not alike ; for it is well known, that the *Jews* were forbidden not only to Eat, but to Sacrifice Swine, and they did not allow Men even to *feed* such among them. And is it likely then that the *Jews* learned from the *Egyptians* their Customs about Swine's Flesh, when in Three Circumstances out of Four they disagreed with them about it, nay acted in the direct contrary manner ? And yet You, Sir, thus partially quote *Herodotus* on purpose to make your Readers believe, that

(a) Οι Συβῶται, ἐόντες Αἰγυπῆσιοι ἐσθγενέες — τοῖσι μὲν νῦν ἄλλοισι Θεοῖσι θύειν ὅς ἐ δικαιεῦσιν Αἰγυπῆσιοι. Σελήνη δὲ καὶ Διονύσῳ μένοισι τῷ αὐτῷ χεῖνε, τῇ αὐτῇ πανσελήνῳ τῷ ὅς θύσαντες, πατέοντα τῶν κρεῶν. ib.

the *Jews* intirely agreed with the *Egyptians* in this Practice, and that therefore they must have borrowed it from Them: Here then are no fewer than five false Quotations in about twice the number of Lines; made by one, who professes, Page 26, to have *read Herodotus with some diligence*: And This you do with intent to prove that the Customs in the *Jewish* Law were derived from the *Egyptians*; whereas *Josephus* (if He has any Weight with You, when he speaks against your Sentiments) expressly says that one Reason why the *Egyptians* were such Haters of the *Jews*, was (a) *the great difference of the Religions of the two Nations; the Jewish Worship being as different from that which is established among the Egyptians, as the Nature of God is from that of the Brutes.* To which Testimony I shall add that of an ingeniquis Modern Author, who, after having carefully examin'd this matter, says, *There is (I think) one Observation, which, as*

(a) *Contra Apion*. l. 1. c. 25. ἡ τ' ἱερῶν ὑπενανηιότης πολλὴν αὐτοῖς ἐνεποίησεν ἔχθραν· τοσούτον δ' ἡμετέρας διαφερέσης εὐσεβείας πρὸς τὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνων νενομισμένην, ἔσον ὡς φύσις ζώων ἀλόγων διέσκηκεν.

far as I have had Opportunity to apply it, will fully answer every Particular that Dr. Spencer has offer'd, and that is This; he is able to produce no one Ceremony or Usage practis'd both in the Religion of Abraham or Moses, and in That of the Heathen Nations, but that it may be proved, that it was used by Abraham or Moses or by some of the true Worshipers of God, earlier than by any of the Heathen Nations. Shuckford's Connection of the Sacred and Prophan History. Vol. I. p. 317.

12. I find you again in Page 34. shewing your Skill or your great Negligence, for even the *Latin* Translation of *Maimonides's* Words is wrong translated by You into *English*; and whereas Dr. *Spencer* makes the *Rabbi* say that (a) *Circumcision* was sometimes not to be undergone without hazard of Life, you omit that restraining Word sometimes, and represent him as saying that it was not to be undergone without some hazard of Life: As if it was always hazardous, whereas he only maintains that it was sometimes so.

(a) *Res durissima & difficillima, nec sine vitæ discrimine quandoque subeunda.* Maimonid.

13. You go on to say (*ibid.*) that *Lightfoot* informs us, that *the* FREQUENT Mortality it occasion'd produced a STANDING LAW, that when any Person had lost three Children successively by the Operation, he was to be excus'd from Circumcising the rest; in consequence of which there were actually MANY uncircumcis'd among them, &c. Here again, Sir, your usual Dexterity in quoting is to be seen; for, first, *Lightfoot*, Vol. 2. p. 760, says nothing of a *Standing Law* on this Occasion: And by the Passages which he cites from the Writings of the *Rabbins* it appears to have been only a Decision of the *Jewish* Doctors on the Case, (and one of them decides against the Legality of an Uncircumcis'd Priest), grounded upon their Explication of the Words of *Moses*, *Laws*, which if a Man shall observe them, he shall live in them: And then secondly, *Lightfoot* does not speak of any frequent Mortality, that Circumcision occasion'd, or of there being many uncircumcis'd on that Account: He quotes five or six Passages indeed, in which mention is made of an *uncircumcis'd Israelite* and an *uncircumcis'd Priest*, when their Brethren died of Circumcision: And says that

that very frequent mention of them is made in the Talmudists, but he no where says (as I can find) that they mention'd this as frequently happening, or as happening to many; from what he makes R. Nathan say, (*ib.*) I should collect that the Accident was very rare among the Jews; for the Rabbi's Words are, *I travailed to Cæsarea, and there was a Woman there, who had brought forth Male Children, which had died of Circumcision, the first, the second, and the third: They brought the fourth to me, and I looked upon him, and saw not in him the Blood of the Covenant: He advis'd them to permit him a little while, tho' not circumcis'd, and they permitted him, &c.* The Rabbi not only seems, by the mention of this one Instance only, to have look'd upon it as uncommon; but both He and the Woman too seem to have doubted of the Lawfulness of *not* causing this fourth Child to be circumcis'd.

At last you come to consider the Account of the *Confusion at Babel*; and your Solution of it is truly a confus'd one; but your Quotations are all that at present I am concern'd with, and therefore I begin with examining them.

14. Page 41, you say that from Gen. xi. *It is evident that the Sons of Noah were so far from any such Resolution of not dispersing themselves, that they had already begun to disperse, had actually sent off a Colony from the East to the Land of Shinar.* You quote indeed Calmet and Patrick as joining with you in this Opinion; but the Question is, what the Scripture teaches about the matter, and not what any Commentator has fancied: And the Scripture is as express against what is to You so Evident, as Words can represent it. (a) In the last Verse of the tenth Chapter, we read, *By these (i. e. the Families of the Sons of Noah) were the Nations divided in the Earth after the Flood;* then it follows Chap. xi. 1. *And the whole Earth was of one Language and one Speech;* here all Mankind is plainly spoken of, without the Exclusion of any part, great or small; and of all these it is said Verse 2. *And it came to pass as they journey'd from the East, that they found a Plain in the Land of Shinar; and they dwelt there.* Is there a Word here, Sir, about *dispersing* themselves,

(a) See *Le Clerc's* Reasons in his Note on Ver. 5.

or about *Colonies being sent off*? Are not the very same Persons who were of *one Language* and *one Speech* represented as *journeying from the East* and pitching in *Shinar*? After the Word *all* had been mention'd, and the Word *they* so closely follows, can we in Propriety of Speech, can we without Absurdity conclude, that by *they* is only meant some part of them, when no such Distinction is made or hinted at in the Text? And to assure us more fully (if possible) that all Mankind, and not a Colony only of them, was concern'd in this *Confusion at Babel*, it is recorded Verse 9. that *the Lord did there confound the Language of all the Earth, and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the Earth*: Can Words be plainer than these to express that what happen'd, happen'd not to a Part but to the Whole of Mankind? According to Your Comment the *whole Earth* and *all the Earth*, were only a Part of it, only a Colony, at most a great Colony: Which is to make the Scripture talk such Nonsense, as if it had really talk'd, you would probably not have fail'd to censure.

The case of their *journeying* seems to have been this; when the Ark landed upon the Mountains, *Noah* and his Family continu'd living in the mountainous Parts for many Years; and while they were few in Number found Provisions enough in those Places, tho' not very fruitful; and indeed they *could* not descend for a long time, because it must have been a long while before the Plains and lower Grounds were so far dried as to afford Men a wholesome Habitation: But in length of Time (the Scripture says not how long) as *Noah's* Descendants increas'd, they found the mountainous Habitations not able to supply them and their Cattle with what they wanted: They had already consum'd all that those Parts us'd to furnish them with; they saw that the Lower Grounds were now grown Dry and Wholesome; and that they were exceedingly fruitful, as they must necessarily have been by reason of the Slime and Sediment which the Flood left upon the Soil of them: They all therefore came down from the Mountains, and marched Westward till they arrived at the Plain of *Shinar*, a Plain of such Extent as to be able to contain their Number, and so fruitful as to give them Assurance

rance of full Plenty for themselves and Cattle for many Years to come.

15. In the same free Humour of quoting you proceed Page 42. to say, that *all that can be collected from the Story, is, that knowing they must disperse, they had a mind, before such Dispersion, to erect some publick Monument of their common Origin, by building a City and a Tower, that should reach as high as Heaven: And it was the Presumption and Arrogance of this Design that induc'd God to baffle it by confounding their Language, and to disperse them from that Place, without suffering them to finish what they had projected.* Thus you collect from the Story a Design quite different from what the Story expressly mentions; for the Words are Ver. 4. *And they said, Go to, let us build us a City and a Tower, whose Top may reach unto Heaven, and let us make us a Name, lest we be scatter'd abroad upon the face of the whole Earth.* Is not the Intent of these Builders plainly set forth here? And does not the Word *lest* introduce a Reason quite contrary to Yours, which is therefore something equivalent at least to a false Quotation? But I suppose that you chose to follow the *Greek*

and *Latin* Versions of this Passage, both which render it, *before we be scattered*, &c. And this idle Translation of *Theirs* you prefer to that of the Original, which is capable of no other fair Translation than what our *English* and the other Version give it: And as the *Hebrew* will not bear your Sense of it, the Reason of the thing will not allow your Account of their Design to be a True one; for if they intended only *to erect some publick Monument of their common Origin*, why did this Colony, this Party detached from the rest (as you suppose them to have been) not think of such a Project, but till after they were separated from the rest of Mankind? A Design of *erecting a Monument of their common Origin* would have been more proper for them to have entertain'd, before the Descent of some of them from the Mountains had parted those who had one *common Origin*. There, and not at *Babel*. such a Project had been fit and reasonable, if any where: But, in truth, it could hardly ever have come into the Heads of *any* or *all* of them to *erect a Monument* for the Design, which you ascribe to them; because it is not likely that they should

ever

ever have suspected that any in future Times could doubt of their having had a *common Origin*. They were all one Man's Descendants, as they knew very well; and they could not but reason within themselves, that if any Tradition of Things should be handed down to Posterity, it would not fail to represent them and their Children as having all issu'd from one and the same Stock. Besides, if we should allow Your Design to have been Theirs, it will puzzle you much to shew how that Design was so *Presumptuous* and *Arrogant*, as to induce God to baffle it by confounding their Language. One would rather think the Design was a *Good* and *Commendable* one, and that God should have approved and seconded it; for nothing more serves the Ends of Religion (as far as it relates to Man and Man), than to have it well known and always consider'd that we have one *common Origin*: It is one good Argument for the Practice of all the Social Virtues; and therefore a wise Man would make no scruple to conclude that God would never have look'd upon that Design as a Piece of *Presumption* and *Arrogance*, much less that he would have baffled
it

it by confounding their Language on that Account only.

What (a) mis-led the *Greek* and *Latin* Interpreters, (by whom you chose to be mis-led, without acquainting your Readers how the Original stood, and how our *English* Bible render'd it), seems to have been the Sentence, *and let us make us a Name*; but either we may put these Words into a Parenthesis, and make the Words *lest we be scatter'd*, &c. to be a Reason why they were for building a *Tower*; or we may follow the Opinion (b) of those, who think that the *Hebrew* Word *Shem* signifies here not a *Name* but a *Monument* or *Sign* (as the *Greek* Word *σῆμα*, which was probably derived from it, is well known to signify;) and that the *Tower*, which these Builders erected, was design'd for a Land-mark, which by its Height may be seen at a great Distance: A Contrivance very necessary for them, as Things then stood, if the Providence of God had not thought it more proper for them to *disperse* than to hold thus closely together :

(a) See *Le Clerc's* Note on the Place.

(b) See *Perizonii Origin. Babylon.* c. 11. p. 195. &c. and *Lamy de Tabernaculo*, p. 222.

For consider, Sir, that they were situated in a vast and wide Plain; and as they consum'd the Forage near their Home, it was necessary for them to lead their Cattle to graze at some distance; it is not improbable too that in small Parties they went abroad hunting, and some of them had frequently on these Occasions lost their Way, and had either never found it, or found it with great Difficulty: What should they do then under this Inconveniency? Why they resolv'd to erect a *Tower, whose Top might reach unto Heaven*, of such a Height as might serve them for a Direction at a great Distance; and by the help of this they thought, that, however separated as their Occasions requir'd, they might always know how to return to the City, where they and their Companions had determin'd to live together. But this strict adhering to each other God was pleas'd not to approve of; he foresaw that it was better for them to disperse, partly perhaps that the World might be the sooner peopled, and partly perhaps to prevent those (a) Quarrels and Wars which would inevi-

(a) See *Le Clerc's* Note on *Gen.* xi. 7. and *Josephus's* *Antiq.* lib. 1. c. 4.

tably (he knew) arise among them from their living together in a Plain, which would soon be incapable of supplying them with Necessaries. The Design of the Builders then being contrary to God's, it was on this Account that the Scripture represents him as *confounding their Language*, that they might be the sooner dispers'd over the Earth. But enough of This; my main Business was to shew you, that the Scripture assigns one Reason of their erecting the *Tower*, and you a quite different one. — Is this Ingenuity?

I have now, Sir, set before you Fifteen Instances of your falsely quoting the Authors, which you refer to as Authorities for what you are pleased to say in Opposition to *Moses's Account of the Fall, of Circumcision, and the Confusion at Babel*. Had Dr. *W.* or the Author of *Scripture Vindicated* been guilty of One of the like nature, how would You have triumph'd over him? What Language would You have bestow'd upon him? But in God's Name, Sir, is any Cause worth such a Proceeding? can a Good one want Falshoods? or does a Bad one deserve them? Let Facts, of whatever kind, be sifted

ed thoroughly and examin'd freely; but let Impartiality always go along with the Search, and let it always be thought one Ingredient in Free-thinking, to follow Truth in every Enquiry: He that suffers himself to be impos'd upon, or tries to impose upon others, has no Right to the Title of a Free-thinker.

[II.] I now come to examine some of those Historical Facts, which you have rashly advanc'd in several parts of your Letter; for These, like your Quotations, are made with more Zeal than Judgment, to fit the Cause which you are serving.

1. The first, which I shall take notice of, is in Page 28, &c. where you say that in *Moses's* Time (for unless you speak of that Time, your Reasoning is quite foreign to the purpose) *Egypt was a great and powerful Nation, famed every where abroad for their Wisdom and Learning, the best School of Arts and Sciences, a Great and Flourishing Kingdom, a polite and learned Nation*: Whereas you represent the *Jews* as (at that Time) *an obscure contemptible People, famed for no kind of Literature, scarce known to the polite World*, &c. And this Comparison you make

in order to shew, that it is more likely that the *Jews* borrowed their Customs from the *Egyptians*, than that the *Egyptians* borrowed theirs from the *Jews*.

But pray, why must Either of them be suppos'd to have borrow'd from the Other? Out of seven Instances which you bring (Page 32, 33.) to shew that these two Nations resembled one another in their Customs, five of them (as I shew'd P. 23, &c.) make directly against you: and the other two are such as were not (a) peculiar to the *Jews* and *Egyptians*, but were observ'd in most other Nations, and from them as well as from the *Egyptians*, the *Jews* might have borrow'd them, if they borrow'd them at all.

This by the way only; the proper Question that is now between You and Me, is whether *Egypt* was in the time of *Moses* so great a Kingdom, so polite a Nation as You have represented it. Sir *Isaac Newton* has observ'd in his *Chronol.* p. 186, that it was so thinly peopled before the Birth of *Moses*, that

(a) See *Shuckford's* Connection of the Sacred and Praphane History, Vol. I. p. 303, 315, 316.

Pharaoh said of the Israelites, Exod. i. 9. Behold, the People of the Children of Israel are more and mightier than We: From whence this at least may be infer'd, that the Jews were Then no less a powerful and flourishing People than the Egyptians. And as to their Learning and Politeness, the same Author says, Page 210. That there is no Instance of Letters, for writing down Sounds, being in Use before the Days of David, in any other Nation besides the Posterity of Abraham: The Egyptians ascribe this Invention to Thoth the Secretary of Osiris; and therefore Letters began to be in Use in Egypt in the Days of Thoth, that is, a little after the Flight of the Edomites from David, or about the Time that Cadmus brought them into Europe. And he adds Page 213, that it was under the Reign of Ammon and Sefac (i. e. about the Time of David) that the Egyptians applied themselves to Astronomy. What then must their Learning and Politeness have been, in Moses's Time? what their Arts and Sciences, when they had not so much as the Use of Letters among them?

This Great Author, this true Free-thinker (from whom You might have learn'd to

quote fairly and judge Impartially) after a laborious and general Search into Antiquity for near thirty Years, which I am well assur'd that he spent in it, deliver'd this among other Things as his Judgment upon the Enquiry; and when you knew this, as You did or might easily have known, is it Impartial in You to take no notice in the least of what He has advanc'd about the *Egyptian* Antiquities? and to represent the *Egyptian* Nation of *Moses's* Days under all that Advantage of Character, which did not belong to them till some Hundreds of Years after? for *Pythagoras* (whom you mention) one of the first *Greeks*, which is recorded to have travell'd to *Egypt* for Knowledge, flourish'd not till above 800 Years after the Times of *Moses*. Till You have confuted Sir *Isaac Newton's* Account, you should never have argu'd from the Vulgar Hypothesis with as much Assurance as if it had never been called in Question, much less as if it had never been Demonstrated to be False. But it serv'd your Purpose, and therefore you caught at it. What Partiality is This in one, who makes it *the Business and Study of his Life in every Enquiry to search for and embrace the Truth.*

By

By reading the above-mention'd Chronology You might have learned too, that the Argument, which You draw Page 32, from the *Isiack Table* of *Bembo* and the *Obelisks*, to shew that *Moses* took the Hint of his *Brazen Serpent* erected in the Wilderness from the *Image of a Serpent erected on a Pillar* in *Egypt*, &c. is of no Force or Weight to the purpose for which you bring it; because the *Isiack Table* could not have been made before the Time of *Isis*; and *Isis*, according to Sir *John Marsham's* and Sir *Isaac Newton's* System, lived not till above 400 Years after *Moses's* Death; and the very first *Obelisk* which was erected in *Egypt*, was erected, as Sir *Isaac Newton* says, Page 260, by *Mephres* the Predecessor of *Misphragmuthosis*, whom he places (Page 10.) in the Year before Christ 1125, i. e. 250 Years after the Departure of the *Jews* out of *Egypt* under *Moses*. To argue then (as You do) that *Moses* borrow'd from the *Egyptians* a Custom, which it does not appear that they practis'd till so many Years after his Decease, is a way of arguing, which (if you please) you may call your Own.

Of the like Nature is what you assert p. 32. that *Aaron's making for the Jews a golden Calf, was nothing else but recalling the Worship of the Egyptian God Apis represented always under that Form.* Whereas (a) Sir *Isaac Newton* and Sir *John Marsham* (b) prove, (and confute them if you can) that the *Apis* was no other Person than *Sesostris* or *Shishac* (as the Scriptures call him) who reign'd in the Days of *Solomon*: The Account which Sir *Isaac Newton* gives p. 197. is much more likely than Yours, when he says that *the King, who by the Invention of Corn render'd Useful the lower Part of Egypt, which was yearly overflowed by the Nile, and first peopled it and reign'd over it, seems to have been worshipped by his Subjects after Death in the Ox or Calf for this Benefaction:* This I believe to be truer of Those lower Parts of Egypt which were not overflow'd by the Nile; for *Herodotus* tells us (c) that

(a) Chronol. p. 192, & 219.

(b) Canon Ægyptiacus. p. 59.

(c) Οἱ ἔτε δ' ἐστὶν ἀναρρηγνύντες αὐλακας, ἔχουσι πόνους, ἔτε σφάλλοντες, ἔτε ἄλλο ἐργαζόμενοι ἐδὲν, ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐν θρωποι πῶς λητὸν πονέουσι &c. Lib. 2. c. 14.

Those, which were overflowed, were never ploughed, tho' they were sown with Corn yearly; but as for the others they were ploughed; and this King having taught them to plough their Lands with Oxen for the better sowing of their Corn, he was worshipped (I suppose) by his Subjects after Death in the Ox or Calf, just as Sir *Isaac* observes of *Sesostris*, that he was represented by an Ox, because he taught the conquer'd Nations to plough with Oxen, p. 226.

But if we should admit that the *Egyptian Apis* was worshipped as early, as You represent it, yet you have no grounds from the Scripture Story to conclude, that the setting up of the *Golden Calf* in the Wilderness was to recal the Worship of the *Egyptian Apis*. The God or Gods, whom the *Jews* intended to worship under that Image, were those who had brought them up out of the Land of Egypt, *Exod.* 32. 4. Not any *Egyptian Gods*, we may be sure, for against them the Lord had executed Judgment (*Exod.* 12. 12. *Num.* 33. 4.) And therefore the *Jews* well knew that They had been so far from bringing them out of Egypt, that they had come out from thence in

in Opposition to Them, and with the Destruction of them. It was the *Lord* then, the *Jehovah*, whom they foolishly meant to worship under the *Golden Calf*; and so we are expressly told, v. 5. that *when Aaron saw it, he built an Altar before it, and made proclamation and said, To-morrow is a Feast unto the Lord (Jehovah.)*

I shall mention but one more Mistake of Yours under this Article, and that is in p. 23. where you say that *Kircher has shewn that Hieroglyphicks or sacred Characters were invented and used by the Egyptians before Moses's time.* But all this is still upon the Old Scheme; and you are not so just to your Reader as to own, that both *Sir John Marsham* and *Sir Isaac Newton* have shewn on the contrary that *Thoth*, thereputed Inventor of those Hieroglyphicks, was Contemporary with *Sesòstris* or *Sejac*, who was the same *Shishac*, which plunder'd the Temple at *Jerusalem* in the Reign of *Reboam*. All that *Kircher* proves, he (a) proves upon Supposition that *Thoth* or *Mercurius Trismegistus* was much earlier than *Moses's Days*;

(a) Obelisc. Pamphil. l. 1. c. 4. p. 47. & c. 3. p. 28. &c.
and

and therefore if that Fact be not True (and You know that it is contested by so great Authorities as Sir *John Marsham* and (a) Sir *Isaac Newton*), all his Proof falls to the ground; and of course it does *not* appear, that the *Serpent* was us'd as a *Hieroglyphick* among the *Egyptians* in *Moses's* time: and then notwithstanding what you have learn'd from *Kircher*, it will *not* be Probable, that *Moses's Account of the Fall* might be drawn from Principles and Notions imbib'd in his Youth from the Schools of the *Egyptians*.

It is said indeed in *Act. 7. 22.* that *Moses* was learned in all the Wisdom of the *Egyptians*. But what that *Wisdom* was, is no where said; nor is that saying of *St. Stephen* a Proof of any thing, but that he spake according to the then receiv'd Tradition of the *Jews*; and *Josephus* speaks after the same manner as He does: The *Egyptians* had, long before the time of *Josephus* or *St. Stephen*, so boasted of the Antiquity of Arts and Sciences among them, that it was then the prevailing Notion, that they had been Eminent for *Wisdom* even before the Age in which *Moses* lived: but some of the Ancient Writers, who were

(a) Chronol. p. 22. and elsewhere.

more curious Enquirers into their Pretensions, did long ago deny the Truth of them; and from the Observations which These made and left in writing, it is that Sir *Isaac Newton* has traced out the Origin of Arts and Sciences in *Egypt*, and has placed it many Ages lower than that vain Nation of the *Egyptians* would allow it.

Upon the whole then of this Article, it appears that 'till you have confuted this new System of Chronology, you cannot Fairly and Justly assert, that *Egypt* was a great and flourishing Kingdom, a learned and polite Nation in *Moses's* time. If Scripture Authority be any Authority with You, you have the King of *Egypt* himself putting the *Jews* more than upon the Level with his own Subjects in respect of their Numbers: or if Sir *Isaac Newton's* Discoveries be of any weight with You, he has shewn that not only *Learning and Politeness* did not flourish, but even Letters were not in use, in *Egypt*, 'till many Ages after the Period where you have fixt it: And in answer to what you have advanced about the early *Grandeur and Flourishing* Condition of the *Egyptian* Empire,

I

I cannot forbear mentioning, what may be collected indeed from that great Author's Chronology, but what I have heard from his own Mouth, " That he thought the
 " Kingdom of *David* was the most confi-
 " derable Kingdom, that Then was or had
 " been erected in the World."

2. The next and the last Historical Fact, which I shall take notice of as advanced against the Truth, is in relation to the *Confusion of Languages at Babel*. You are of Opinion, p. 38, &c. that *all the Variety of Languages observable in the World may be accounted for by Natural Causes*; and that Men may find the Cause to be grounded in Reason and Nature, in the necessary Mutability of things, the Rise and Fall of States and Empires, Change of Modes and Customs, which necessarily introduce a proportionable Change in Language: In short, that without any such Miracle, (as Moses pretends there was in the Case,) the same Effect must necessarily have follow'd from the very Dispersion and Propagation of Mankind.

On the contrary, Sir, I think that *Moses* has given us the true Account; and

that it was *Impossible*, that there should have been such a *Variety* in the several Languages of the World, as there is known to be, unless there had been some such miraculous *Confusion* of them, as according to *Moses* happen'd at *Babel*.

I don't mean (for Proof of this) to examine the several Languages, and trace them from their Originals thro' all their Enlargements, Alterations, &c. That would be a tedious Work, if I were capable of performing it.

But I have one Question to ask You, and I should be glad that you would think of a sufficient Answer to it, before you form a Peremptory Judgment against *Moses's* Account of the *Confusion of Languages*.

Supposing what you say, to be True; *viz.* That the *Mutability of Things*, the *Change of Modes and Customs*, the *Rise and Fall of States and Empires*, &c. must necessarily in length of time have caused a *Variety* in two or more Languages which were Originally the same; Yet I ask, whether it be likely that any or all of these *Natural Causes* could produce Such a *Variety* in them, as that the Things, which are of most Common Use in
Life,

Life, and which all Men are every Day speaking of, should come in different Languages to be express'd by Words which have not the least Affinity with one another, no not so much as in One Radical Letter?

To give you some few Instances out of many, of what I mean: What has been more common in all Countries and Ages than *Water*, *Bread*, &c. What is oftner mention'd than those Parts of us, which we are always using, such as the *Hand*, *Foot*, *Head*, *Mouth*, &c? Now,

Water in English, is *Maim* in Hebrew, *Hydor* in Greek, *Aqua* in Latin.

Bread in English, is *Lechem* in Hebrew, *Artos* in Greek, *Panis* in Latin.

Hand in English, is *Jadb* in Hebrew, *Chir* in Greek.

Foot in English, is *Regel* in Hebrew, *Pes* in Latin.

Head in English, is *Rosch* in Hebrew, *Kephale* in Greek, *Tête* in French.

Mouth in English, is *Peh* in Hebrew, *Stoma* in Greek, *Os* in Latin.

These Instances are sufficient (I think) to explain my Meaning: You see in Them that there is the widest difference between
the

the Sounds, whereby Men of several Nations express those Things, which they must all have had the most frequent Occasion to mention. In such Instances all your *Natural Causes* could only have produc'd at most some Alteration of the Sounds, not entirely new Sounds: For what could tempt Men to create New Words, where they had Old ones before for the very same Purpose? Especially in Things of such common Use, as that the Names of them were every Day in every Man's Mouth? Till you have answer'd this Question then, I cannot but be of Opinion, that at *Babel* the *Language* of Mankind was *confounded*, as *Moses* reports; and that upon the *Confusion* some entirely new Languages began; each of which Languages became afterwards the Mother of several others, which were nearly allied to one another, as being deriv'd from one Parent-Language: Hence the *Hebrew*, the *Syriac*, the *Chaldee*, &c. had so great a Resemblance to each other; whilst the *English*, the *Danish*, the *Dutch*, &c. which are Branches of the *Teutonick*, have no Affinity (but what is purely Accidental) in their Primitive Words with any of the
fore-

foremention'd ones, but have a plain Relation to each other, as might be expected in those which are deriv'd from the same Fountain.

Sir, upon the Whole I would recommend to you, that when you write upon any Matters of Importance, You would learn to report fairly the Passages which you cite from Authors; and when you give your Judgment upon Historical Facts, you would consider and weigh Things better than you appear to have done in your Letter. In the mean while (to use your own Words) *I leave you to contemplate the Merits of your great Atchievements*, and to consider whether the Force and Spirit, with which your Letter is written, can atone for the great want of Truth, which is discover'd in it by,

S I R,

Your hearty Wellwisher, &c.

Jan. 5. 1730-1.

A
D E F E N C E
O F T H E
L E T T E R
T O

Dr. *WATERLAND* ;

Against the false and frivolous Cavils of

The AUTHOR of the REPLY.

— *Fragili quærens illidere dentem*
Offendet solido — H O R.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. PEELE, at *Locke's-Head* in
Amen-Corner. MDCCXXXII.

(Price One Shilling Six-Pence.)

A
D E F E N C E
O F T H E
L E T T E R
T O
Dr. *WATERLAND*, &c.

S I R,

T I S with no small reluctance that I have prevail'd with myself at last to take notice of *your Reply to my Letter to Dr. Waterland*: Your Criticisms upon it are either so trifling, or so false, that I was perfectly secure of their making any impression to my disadvantage on men of sense or learning: and as it has been my care in what I have hitherto offered to the Publick, to consult both the profit and pleasure of my Reader, so I was loth to sit down

to a Controversy unlikely to afford either ; to dispute only about words, and squabble about the grammatical construction of separate Scraps and Quotations.

However, since nothing else that deserves the least attention has appear'd on the occasion but *this Reply* of yours, which by the solemn gravity of its stile, and the air of authority it breathes, may possibly pass with some for a learned and judicious performance, I have thought proper to give it a particular examination ; especially as it will afford me an opportunity of explaining myself more clearly in some points where, contrary to my intention, I may perhaps have given offence ; and of opening by the way some questions of great importance, towards settling Christianity on its true and natural foundation.

The clamour you raise against me is for *attempting to weaken the authority of Moses*, and your Title page like an Alarm bell gives warning thro' the Nation of an Enemy gone out to lay waste and destroy Revelation, and propagate Infidelity ; and yet I defy you to shew any thing advanced in *my Letter*, for which I have not the authority of the best and most rational Apologists both ancient and modern, as well of the *Jewish* as *Christian Religion*. 'Tis not my design to destroy or weaken any thing but those senseless systems and prejudices, which some stiff and cloudy Divines will needs fasten to the body of Religion

gion, as necessary and essential to the support of it. For in this age of Scepticism, where Christianity is so vigorously attacked and as it were closely besieged, the true way of defending it, is not to enlarge the compass of its fortifications, and make more help necessary to its defence, than it can readily furnish, but like skilful Engineers, to demolish its weak outworks, that serve only for shelter and lodgment to the enemy, whence to batter it the more effectually, and draw it within the compass of its firm and natural entrenchments, which will be found in the end impregnable.

You say, that *Dr. Waterland's character as a learned and rational advocate for Christianity drew down the weight of my wit and reading upon him, and that he had done too much good, not to receive ill at the hands of the favourers of Infidelity*¹. But is not this both rash and uncharitable to assert so roundly what you cannot know to be true ; that the ground of my quarrel to the Doctor is *the good he was doing Christianity* ? 'Tis possible, Sir, that my name may not always continue a secret, and whenever I shall have the honour of being known to you, if I be not thought incapable of quarrelling with any man for *the good he does* ; and if my life be not found as exemplary and agreeable to the rules of the Gospel, as that of

¹ Reply, p. 6.

the most zealous Champion of you all ; then will I allow every thing you can say or suspect of me to be just and reasonable.

In the mean while I condemn your groundless charge of *Infidelity* ; declare myself a *true friend to Christianity* ; which I am able, I think, to defend by principles much more rational and consistent than those you seem possessed of ; as will appear very clearly in the sequel of this controversy. And I must withal declare, that I have no quarrel at all to Dr. *Waterland*, but on the contrary a great respect for his known learning and abilities ; am persuaded only that whatever good he designed, his way of defending Scripture is very sure of doing mischief to the common Religion we profess : this I have shewn in *my Letter* to him by several instances, and could have shewn it in as many more had it been necessary, with no other view, than to divert him from pursuing a method of defence so dangerous to the cause he was vindicating : but since my Remonstrance has made no impression on him ; and he has now thought fit to second the blow he had given, tho' I am still the more confirmed by his last performance in the sentiments I had declared of the first, yet I shall hardly give my self or him any farther trouble, as it could serve only to illustrate and spread the scandal already given, by collecting and pointing it out to the Reader ; which I have no inclination to do any farther than I may be obliged to it by
the

the Doctor or Yourself in vindication of my own credit and judgment.

In all Controversies about Religion the chief provocation to men of sense is to see a set of rash, dogmatical Divines, whose minds, prepossessed with systems and darkened with prejudices, could never see thro' the mists their Nurses and Mothers had spread about their eyes, setting themselves up for the only guides and teachers of truth to the Nation; requiring the learning and reason of mankind to submit to their arbitrary decisions, and branding with the name of *Sceptick and Infidel*, all who cannot admit their manner of explaining and defining the terms of Christian Faith. Such Divines as these are so far from acting up to the character they assume, of *Physicians of the soul*, by shewing any care to gild the pill they prescribe, and temper their medicines to the state and condition of the Patient, that they expect to treat rational creatures, as Farriers do their Horses, tie them up by the nose, and so make them swallow whatever they think fit to throw down: These are the men I shall ever quarrel with, as the Tyrants and Oppressors of Reason and Conscience, and consequently enemies to the peace and happiness of mankind.

But 'tis time to open the state of our present Controversy: *Your business*, you say¹, *with*

¹ Rep. p. 6.

me is not to enter into dispute about the *Reasonings* advanced in my Letter, but to set before me and expostulate with me about the many falsehoods it abounds with, both in quotations and historical facts. And here we see the first specimen of your art and insincerity ; for tho' you pretend not to meddle at all with my *Reasonings*, yet a great part of your performance is wholly employed in examining them : nor do you ever omit the least opportunity of cavilling at them, as far as you dare venture, which is generally out of your depth, as we shall frequently see in the progress of this dispute : But 'twas prudent to secure a retreat beforehand, that whenever you came to be push'd, you might shelter yourself under this previous declaration, that it was not my *Reasonings*, but my *Quotations* you had undertaken to attack.

Again, as to the many falsehoods of my *Quotations*, you betray at setting out a strange dissimulation, for you undertake to convict me of having hardly made one original Quotation of an Author in his true sense, very often in a sense most opposite to the true one¹. A compleat victory indeed ! not to leave one Quotation alive ! not let a single one escape, but to treat these *Rebels to Religion*, like *Cataline's Rebels* to the State, mow them all down in the very ranks where they stand. But this is pursuing

¹ Reply. p. 7.

only the old rule Calumny ; *to calumniate strongly, without any regard to truth, that something at last may stick* : for tho' you wou'd prepossess the Reader with the notion, that I have not represented so much as *one Quotation truly* ; yet out of about *four score*, which are referred to in my *short Letter*, all you pretend to criticise are but *fifteen* ; and of this number *two* are thrown in merely to enhance the reckoning, and do not at all relate to my *Quotations*, but contain only some cavils to my *Reasonings*.

Lastly, as to the *many falsehoods of my Historical Facts*, which you proclaim me guilty of in your *Title page* ; the whole number you contest with me amounts only to *one* : and tho' to save your credit you would fain stretch it to *two*, yet your second instance concerns no fact at all, but my solution only of a fact, about which we both join issue, *viz. the Mosaic account of the Confusion of Babel*. Is this agreeable to the gravity and character you assume of an Advocate of Christianity ? or can it do any good to the Cause of Religion to defend it by such artful methods of Calumny ; and in the very act of exposing, as you pretend, my want of veracity, to give the real scandal of so notorious and wilful an insincerity ?

But to proceed to the examination of your several Criticisms ; which I shall take notice of in the order as they offer themselves, nei-

ther evading nor palliating the force of any of them.

You begin your attack by charging me with four instances of falsification in as many examples of quotations made from *Cicero* ; and accuse me not only of prejudice and partiality, but of quoting him for *saying what he really does not say* ; nay, what he *disclaims and declares against*¹ ; and conclude by lamenting that this *Great Master of Reason should have so unworthy a Follower as Myself*. This you confirm as to the two first instances, by shewing that I have imputed to *Cicero*, what he speaks only under the person of *Cotta* and under the fiction of a *Dialogue*, and what must not therefore be considered as his own opinion.

But you must needs be little acquainted with *Cicero's Dialogues*, to imagine that under these feign'd characters he does not frequently represent his own real thoughts : You will wonder, says he, in his letter to *Varro*, prefix'd to his *Academick Questions*, to find a *Conversation describ'd between you and me which we never held together, but you know the manner of Dialogues*² : and in the Preface of his *Book of Old Age*, he tells us, that he had assign'd the principal part to *Old Cato*, in order to give the greater weight and authority to his

¹ Reply to the Letter, p. 9, 10.

² Epist. Fam. l. 9. ad Varron. 8.

own sentiments ¹. Now in this Book about the *Nature of the Gods*, whence my two Quotations are taken, *He* has instituted a *Dialogue* between three persons, of the three different Sects of Philosophy of most credit at that time in the world ; *Velleius the Epicurean*, *Balbus the Stoick*, and *Cotta the Academick* : which last from the Principles of that Philosophy undertakes to confute the Notions of the *Stoicks*, about *Religion* and the *Gods* : and does not every one who knows any thing of *Cicero*, know that he was of the *same Sect* ; a constant Follower of the *Academy* in his real Judgment ? so that if there be any thing in that *whole Dialogue*, which can be called *Cicero's own* more peculiarly and properly than the rest, 'tis the very part and character assigned to *Cotta* : for in his *second Book of Divination*, where he disputes in his own person, he takes the same side, and uses the same arguments, which he had put here into the mouth of *Cotta*, to confute the opinion of the *Stoicks* about *Religion* and *Divination*. Where then does he disclaim the passages I have quoted ? why no where ; but on the contrary in other places confirms them ; and declares only in general in the close of this very Conference, that the *argument of Balbus*

¹ Sermonem tribuimus non Tithono ——— fed M. Catoni
seni quo majorem auctoritatem haberet Oratio.

*or the Stoick seemed somewhat the more probable*¹ : which may well be looked upon as a compliment to *Brutus*, to whom he addresses this very book ; for as *Brutus* was a *Stoick*, it was but a proper civility in a *Dialogue* dedicated to him, to give a slight preference to the Principles he professed ; as we find him to have actually done on another occasion, in allowing the Philosophy that *Brutus* followed to be the best², tho' himself was of a different Sect.

But you carry the point still further and tell us, that the sentences here quoted are so far from being *Cicero's*, that they are not even *Cotta's* ; who owns at last, that all he had been saying was not built on any certain judgment, but proposed only for argument's sake, in which he was willing to be confuted. And here whilst you fancy yourself pushing your adversary, you betray only your own ignorance : for every one conversant in Antiquity cannot but know, that it was the peculiar character and distinction of the *Academy*, *Nul-lum judicium interponere* ; to deliver nothing dogmatically, to declare no judgment of its own ; to follow only the *probable* ; and beat down every thing advanced as *certain or self evident*³. *Cotta* therefore, tho' agreeably to

¹ De Nat. Deor. l. 3. ad fin. ² Qui tum in Philosophia, tum in optimo genere Philosophiæ tantum processeris. De Fin. l. 3. init. ³ De Divin. l. 2, 3. Hæc in Philosophia ratio contra omnia differendi, nullamque rem judicandi, &c. Nat. Deor. l. 1. init.

the Principles of his Sect, he might wish to be confuted, that is, to have some greater degree of probability offered to him, than what he had before acquiesced in ; yet must be supposed in the mean while to have embraced and approved the Sentiments he had been asserting in this Dispute as the most probable.

Your Cavil to my next Quotation is still more ridiculous, for tho' 'tis truly taken from *Cicero*, yet 'tis found there, you say, *in the mouth of an Objector*. Where I must own myself puzzled to guess what you would be at : for you no sooner start the Cavil, than confute it yourself ; telling us that *Cicero says the same thing in another place*, and in *answering the very objection acknowledges the truth of it*¹ : but is a fact then less true for being proposed as an *Objection* ? nay is there not the greater presumption of its weight for being offered in that form ? and if it be true, which is all I'm concern'd for, 'tis entirely the same thing, whether it be put as a *Question, Answer, or Objection* : 'tis put, it seems, in *Tully* as an *Objection*, and 'tis put just so in my *Letter* ; where I shall leave it in its place, without losing more time about a Criticism so impertinent.

Your last instance of Falsification charged on me from *Tully*, is the mention of a *Dream of Alexander the Great*, about a *Serpent's speak-*

¹ Rep: p. 11.

ing to him, which *Tully*, I say, *makes merry with*. To this you give a double Answer: First, That tho' *Cicero* had laugh'd at such a Dream, yet 'tis no more a consequence than that my left hand is my right, that he would have laugh'd at the Story of a *Serpent's* really speaking, when attested so credibly, as 'tis by *Moses*. Secondly, That in fact, he did not laugh at the Dream at all, and that 'tis all a merry invention of my own¹. And so far I agree with you, that what he ridicules is not so much the extravagance of a Dream, a thing common with every body, as the pretended miraculous effect of it, and the foolish credulity of those who look on such Dreams as sent from God. But I insist upon it withal, that he laughs too at the fancy of a *Serpent's* speaking, and that especially when it had its mouth full; but as this was not the case of *Moses's* *Serpent*, you think it clear, that had he met with the Story so well attested by the gravest and most ancient of all *Historians* he must needs have believed it.

This indeed is a curious and ingenious Problem, worthy the meditation of so judicious a person as yourself, whether *Cicero* would have believed this Story or no: and tho' I have neither leisure nor inclination to discuss it with you at present, yet cannot help offering a hint or two which may be of use in so important an enquiry.

¹ Rep. p. 12, 13.

Cicero then asserts on all occasions, that our belief or opinion of things ought not to depend on *Testimony or Authority, but on the weight and moment of Reasons* : condemns the *Pythagoreans* for their *Ipse dixit* ; or implicit faith in their *Master Pythagoras* : and declares it *unworthy of a Philosopher or Man of Sense* to appeal to *such Witnesses as may be suspected to have falsified or feigned the Facts they relate* ; and to shew the Truth of things by *extraordinary Events* instead of Arguments¹. These, Sir, were the Sentiments of *Cicero*, and I must leave it to your contemplation, whether a person possessed of such notions could easily take up with a Story so surprizing and prodigious on the single Testimony of an Author, who lived above *two thousand years* after the fact, tho' he *pretended*, as you say, *to be inspired*.

But since you have thought fit to call this Story again upon the stage, and vouch for *Cicero*, that he would have believed it on the *same good Authority that Jews and Christians do* ; pray tell us, Sir, after all, what it is that we Christians are obliged to believe of it :

¹ Non enim tam auctores in disputando, quam rationis momenta quærenda sunt — nec probare soleo id, quod de Pythagoricis accepimus, quos ferunt, si quid affirmarent in disputando, cum ex iis quæreretur, quare ita esset, respondere solitos, *Ipse dixit* — De Nat. Deor. l. 2.

Hoc ego Philosophi non arbitror testibus uti ; qui aut casu veri, aut malitia falsi, fictique esse possunt. Argumentis & rationibus oportet quare quidque ita sit docere ; non eventis &c. De Divin. l. 2.

Must we believe it to be all an *Allegory*? No ; 'tis the *Allegorical Interpretation* that has drawn this clamour upon me of *weakening the Authority of Moses*, and *favouring Infidelity*. Must we believe it to be all *Literal*? No ; we are not allowed to do that, since there's certainly much *Mystery* in it. What then are we to do? why, we are to consider it neither as *Fact* nor *Fable* ; neither *Literal* nor *Allegorical* ; but *both* together : to interpret one sentence *literally* ; the next *allegorically*, the third again *literally* and so on to the end of the Chapter ; which like the very *Serpent* it treats of, is all over spotted and speckled, here with *Letter*, there with *Mystery* and sometimes with a dash of both.

For instance ; *God made Man*, we accept *literally* ; but *after his own image*, in a *figurative* or *metaphorical* sense : that *God made Woman*, we believe *literally* ; but out of the *Rib of Man*, most interpret *allegorically* : *God planted a Garden or Paradise* ; here Commentators are endlessly divided between *Letter* and *Allegory* ; some will have it to be in *heaven*, some on *earth*, others in a *middle region* between both. Again ; *the Serpent was more subtle than any Beast of the field* ; we understand *literally* ; but this *subtle creature* no sooner accosts *Eve*, than he becomes an *allegorical Beast* ; the *old Serpent* ; the *old Deceiver*, *Satan*. Lastly, as to the punishment denounced on the Offenders, *I will put enmity between thee and the Woman*,

Woman, and between thy seed and her seed ; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel ; 'tis all Allegory, all a great Mystery.

Now is it not more rational to follow one uniform, consistent way of Interpretation, than to jump at every step so arbitrarily from *Letter* to *Allegory* : and if the *Letter* be found in fact contradictory to *Reason* and the notions we have of *God*, what is there left us but to recur to *Allegory* ? for which we have the authority of most of the *Primitive Fathers*, and the best *Jewish Writers* : and the *allegorical way* of expounding was so far from giving scandal in former ages of the Church, that on the contrary, to slight it was looked upon as heretical and full of dangerous consequences¹.

Philo, the most learned and orthodox defender of the *Jewish Religion*, treats this very History of the *Creation and Fall of Man* as wholly *allegorical*. By *Paradise*, says he, *we may suppose ænigmatically signified the governing part of the Soul, full of various opinions, like so man Plants ; by the Tree of Life, Piety*

¹ Propter has causas omnia quæ de Paradiso dicta sunt spiritualiter intelligentes Interpretes, quorum meminimus, dixerunt, quod diversæ natæ sint hæreses a quibusdam hominibus qui carnaliter audierunt, quæ de Deo & Paradiso dicuntur, &c. Vid. Bibliothec. Patrum, per Marg. de la Bigue. Par. 1589. Tom. 1. p. 270.

Sunt inter Hæreticos qui contendunt minimè convenire, ut Vet. Testamenti scripta mysticè atque aliter quam de rebus ipsis interpretentur, &c. ibid. p. 409. c. 3.

towards God, the greatest of *Vertues*, by which the Soul is made immortal: by the Tree of knowledge of Good and Evil, our common Understanding, by which we distinguish things contrary to each other in nature, &c. And when he comes to the story of the Serpent; These things, says he, are not like the fabulous Fictions of Poets and Sophisters, but figurative or typical Lessons of Instruction, inviting us to search for the Allegorical Sense, by the discovery of its latent and hidden meaning: in which whoever follows the most probable conjecture, will find the Serpent, as 'tis aptly called, to be the Symbol of Pleasure¹: &c. whence he goes on to give the same Allegorical Interpretation of the whole, which I have done in my Letter.

Clemens of Alexandria tells us, that all Writers, whether Barbarians or Greeks, who have ever treated of Theology, have industriously obscured the beginning and origin of things, by delivering the Truth in Ænigmas, Symbols, Allegories, Metaphors and such like figures². And in another place, that the whole Scripture is written in the Parabolical Style³, for which he gives several reasons.

Eusebius shews, that Moses's History of the Creation, of Paradise and the Fall of Man, was delivered by him in this recondite and symbo-

¹ Philo. de Opificio Mun. p. 35, 36, &c. ² Strom. l. 5. Op. T. 2. p. 658. Edit. Potter.

³ Παράβολικὸς γὰρ ὁ χαρακτὴρ τῶν γραφῶν, ib. l. 6. p. 803.

lical way of learning ; and that *Plato*, (changing only the names, as of *Paradise* into the *Garden of Jupiter*, &c.) has copied the whole Story and *allegorised* it just as *Moses* had done before him ¹, of which he gives likewise some other examples.

And that the *Primitive Writers* in general esteemed the *symbolical or figurative interpretation of Scripture*, to be on many occasions the only method of *vindicating* it, is very certain and undeniable : for instance, the *Mosaic Laws* about *Animals clean and unclean* were considered by them as wholly *allegorical*, full of a *hidden and mystical meaning* : The Law, says *Philo*, accounts the *Camel* an *unclean beast*, because tho' he chews the cud, he does not divide the hoof ; now if we consider this according to the outward Letter, 'tis hard to say, what sense there is in it, but if according to the inward meaning, there is a most clear and necessary one, &c. which he goes on to explain ².

When *Moses* told the People, says *Barnabas*, that they were to abstain from such and such *Animals* ; the Command of God does not import a real Prohibition to eat ; but *Moses* spoke spiritually, and by prohibiting *Swine's flesh*, meant only to say, thou shalt not keep company, or join thyself to such Men, as in their manners are like to *Swine*, &c ³.

¹ Præpar. Evang. p. 343. Edit. R. Steph.
cult. p. 206.

² De Agri.

³ S. Barnab. Epist. c. x. p. 30. Edit. Coteler.

Clemens of Alexandria, Eusebius, Lactantius, &c. follow *Barnabas's* interpretation : *Tertullian* goes further, and says, that *nothing is so contemptible as the Mosaic Laws about the distinction and prohibition of animal food* : and *Origen* still more freely ; that if we take them literally, they are unworthy of God, and less rational than the Laws of Men, as of the Romans, Athenians, Lacedemonians ; nay, that some of them are contrary to reason and impossible to be observed¹.

Thus far then you must needs allow me to be orthodox ; clear of any attempt either against the *Authority of Moses*, or in favour of *Infidelity* ; unless you will involve in the same crime with me the most pious and learned *Fathers of the Church*, and the ablest Defenders of Christianity in all ages : Let us see how just your charge upon me is in the following Articles ; particularly that of the *Jewish Circumcision* ; where you next examine what I have advanced in relation to its *divine Origin*.

You affirm in the first place, that *I think with the Author of Christianity as old &c. that Circumcision was borrowed from Ægypt*². But pray, Sir, where have I declared that I think so ? All that I endeavoured or intended to shew, was the rashness and unreasonableness of those Divines, who assert its *divine Origin* in a stile so dogmatical and overbearing as cannot

¹ Vid. *ibid.* Cotelerii Not. 42.

² Reply. p. 13.

fail of giving disgust to Men of candour and learning; not allowing the least *colour of reason* to the contrary opinion, but treating it as the meer effect of malice and ignorance; a way of defence so contrary to good sense and good manners, that the cause of Religion must needs suffer by it.

However, Sir, had I really thought, what you impute to me, 'tis not at least in your power to convince me of an error, as we shall soon see by the weak attempt you make towards it. For in considering a Quotation of mine from *Josephus*, you say, *'Tis plain that Josephus does not speak there of any Egyptians circumcised, but Priests only; and that if I had translated him right, my Argument would have been spoiled;* and that for your part, you gather from what *Josephus* says of *Herodotus*, that he understood *Herodotus* to mean that the *Ægyptian Priests only were circumcised*: whence you form immediately an Hypothesis out of your own brain; that *these Priests of Ægypt taught the Priests of other Nations to be circumcised, on pretence that it was necessary in such only for the sake, not of Cleanliness, as I render the word καθαρίστη, but of Purity, or internal Holiness, just as it was among the Jews*¹.

But now, Sir, if the contrary to this be true in every particular; if the *Ægyptian People in general, and not the Priests only were cir-*

¹ Rep. p. 15. &c.

circumcised ; if *Josephus* understood *Herodotus* in that very sense, and lastly, if *Circumcision* was used by them just as I have said, for the sake of outward Cleanliness, and not as your Criticism imports, inward Purity ; what will you say for yourself ; what excuse will you make for giving me so much trouble ? Will not the Reader begin to suspect that with all this Gravity you are but a Pretender to Learning, without any sound share of it ; that the Knowledge you are master of, is supplied from Scraps and marginal Citations, without any thorough acquaintance with Antiquity, or the Authors you refer to ? and as oft therefore as you are engaged to treat a question to the bottom, like a Man fighting in the dark, instead of beating your Adversary, will oftner be found beating the Air and bruising your own Knuckles against Posts or Walls ? of which we shall see many an instance before I've done with you.

For suppose that I had allowed the very thing that you contend for ; that the *Priests only were circumcised in Ægypt* ; how would my Argument have been spoiled by it ? Was it impossible for *Moses*, who was bred up among thole very *Priests*, and instructed in all *their Learning*, to have copied *Circumcision* from them, and yet extend it further afterwards by imposing it on the People too ? but not to dwell on Hypothesis, let us enquire into the Fact.

The

The Authors I have quoted, the oldest, who give any account of *Circumcision*, *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, mention it always as a custom common to the whole Nation, without giving the least hint or reason to believe that it was confin'd to *Priests* alone. *Agatharcides*, as quoted by *Photius*, says expressly that *all the Ægyptians were circumcised*¹: and *Suidas* hints the same in the word *ψαλλῶν*. *Strabo* indeed adds, what is confirmed likewise by other Writers, that the *Women were also circumcised*²: which fully confutes your Notion and shews the Practice to have been general.

A Question indeed may arise about the obligation to it; whether it was of absolute necessity or not to all; and there may possibly have been some distinction between *Priests* and *People* on this account: but that it was commonly and generally practised by all, can admit of no doubt from the concurrent Testimony of all Authors: and 'tis certain that as the *Jews* would receive none to the *Passover*, but the *circumcised*; so the *Ægyptians* admitted none else to their *religious Mysteries*³; so that *Pythagoras* was forced to be *circumcised*, to procure admittance to their recondite and *symbolical Learning*: whence 'tis probable, that it was considered

¹ Photii Biblioth. p. 1358. ex Agatharclide. c. 30.

² L. 17. ³ Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1. p. 354. c. 15. Edit. Potter. vid. it. Cotelerii Not. in Barnab. Epist. c. 9.

as a kind of *religious Test*, which the Priests and all who expected any benefit from Religion or Office in the State were obliged more peculiarly to comply with.

The next point is, whether *Josephus* understood *Herodotus* to mean that *Circumcision* was peculiar to the Priests. And if it be true in fact, as is shewn above, that it was not confined to Priests, and that *Herodotus* has given no ground for such a distinction; your notion must fall of it self. *Josephus* indeed, in the place referred to, may be understood of a peculiar obligation or absolute necessity which the Priests were under to be circumcised above all other Men; but on another occasion where he appeals to *Herodotus*, for affirming the *Ægyptians* to be the Authors of *Circumcision* to all other People, and even to the *Jews*, he makes no other reflection upon it, than that of *such things every one may say what he thinks fit* ¹. A modern Author, of more zeal than judgment, says on the occasion; *Josephus* has taken notice of the words of *Herodotus*, but I could have wished, that he had called him to account for them, and not passed them over so coldly — This did not become *Josephus*, on other occasions so stout an Advocate of the Honour of his Nation ².

Again, You say, that the *Ægyptians* did not use *Circumcision*, for the sake of Cleanliness,

¹ Περὶ μὲν τέτων ἕκαστοι λεγέτωσαν ὅτι αὐτοῖς δοκῇ. *Antiq.* l. 8. c. x. § 3. ² *De Repub. Hebræor.* l. 2. c. 4. p. 70.

as I render the word καθαριότης, but of *Purity*: an Observation wholly groundless; it being certain, that the main intent of the custom was not to make them more *holy or pure*, but more *sweet and clean*; in order to prevent some bodily distemper or inconvenience frequent in those warm Climates; which is alledged by Writers as the cause and natural reason of the same practice in all the neighbouring Countries¹. But besides; the Passage itself, as it stands in *Herodotus*, can suggest no other notion, and all others who have ever quoted it, have taken it in the same sense that I do; for 'tis ranked in company with such Customs as relate solely to *external Neatness or Cleanliness*²; viz. the *washing themselves twice each day, and as oft each night in cold water; the constant washing their Cups; their Vestments; and the shaving their Bodies to keep them clear of Lice and other Vermin, &c.*

But you still blunder on and tells us, that the notion of the *Ægyptians* was just the same with that of the *Jews*, amongst whom it was considered as an *Emblem of Purity*³: in which you shew as little acquaintance with *Scrip-*

¹ Ægyptii, Æthiopes, alique ex oriente populi rationes regioni vel religioni suæ proprias habuerunt, quibus diu ante tempora Abrahami ad virilium pelliculas præcidendas inducti censentur. Nam Philo & alii circumcissionem inter gentes aliquas consilio civili primùm introductam putant, ad præcavendam scilicet lepram aut carbunculum, e sordibus sub præputio latentibus oriri solitum, &c. Spencer de Leg. Heb. l. 1. c. 5. §. 4. p. 58.

² Vid. Herod. l. 2. 37.

³ Reply, p. 16.

tural or Jewish History, as you do with the *Ægyptian*: For 'tis clear from Scripture that Circumcision was not given for the sake of Purity, but as a *Sign and Seal of a Covenant* between God and his People; as an *outward Mark* to distinguish those who were under that Covenant, from all other Nations whatsoever. This is the account we have of its Institution as well from *Scripture* as the *Primitive Fathers*. You shall circumcise, says God to *Abraham*, the flesh of your foreskin, and it shall be a token of the Covenant between me and you¹.

Abraham, says *Justin Martyr*, received Circumcision as a Mark or Sign, and not as of any efficacy towards Righteousness or Holiness as both Scripture and Fact itself oblige us to allow². And *Irenæus*, That God gave it not as of any service to Justice or Righteousness, but for a Mark to distinguish *Abraham's* Posterity³. The Reader will make a proper Reflection on a Criticism grounded in meer mistake both of *Jewish* and *Ægyptian Antiquity*.

But the Sting is, that *I think with the Author of Christianity as old &c.* which is so far from being a Reproach whenever he thinks right, as he certainly does in some things;

¹ Gen. xii. 11.

² Dialog. cum Tryph. par. 1. p. 184.

Edit. Thurob.

³ Quoniam autem circumcisionem non quasi contuminatricem justitiæ, sed in signo eam dedit Deus, ut cognoscibile perseveret genus Abrahamæ &c. Adv. Hær. l.

4. c. 30.

that it would be much more for your credit to do so too, than to spend your time and pains in maintaining *vulgar Errors and pious Prejudices* against plain Fact and History : but if you would do me right, you should represent me as thinking with *Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Philo, Josephus, Photius, Sir Jo. Marsham, Dr. Spencer,* and even *Calmet* too, whom you recommend to my perusal ; who, tho' he labours like yourself to support the common Hypothesis against Fact and Testimony, yet is so fair at the same time as to allow a *great colour of Reason, a great ground of Probability* to those who assert the contrary opinion, which is all that I have ever declared for.

We are now arrived at what you call my *Masterpiece of Quotation*, viz. a passage of *Josephus* referred to in my *Letter*, in which I make him give up, as you say, the *Divine Mission of his own Legislator Moses*¹. Here indeed you seem greatly moved, and employ all your Rhetorick to move me too ; calling upon me in the most solemn manner *for the sake of sincerity to retract my rash assertion and to consider the whole Quotation over again*, in which *there's nothing, you say, that even seems to deny the Divine Origin of the Law and the Divine Inspiration of its Founder, but what arises from my Misrepresentation ; that such a*

¹ Rep. p. 16.

*thought was as far from Josephus, as attention or sincerity was from me*¹.

I am come therefore, Sir, in obedience to your call, to review the whole Passage, and to consider very seriously and attentively not *the Translation*, as you absurdly call it, but *the short Abstract* I had given of the sense of the place in a manner agreeable to the form of a *Letter*, in which an exact or verbal Translation must needs have appeared stiff and awkward: and upon a most careful Examination both of the Original and my Account of it, I am so far from being sensible that I have misrepresented my Author, that I am the more clearly and perfectly convinced that I had before given his true Sentiments; and that *Josephus* in the place referred to does not insist on any *supernatural or divine Authority* of *Moses*, but ascribes all the great things done by him to his own *personal skill and management*, putting him on the same foot with *Minos and the other old Lawgivers of Greece*; and giving him the preference only on the comparison for *the superior Excellency of his Laws*. This, Sir, I will maintain against you or any Man else to be the Sense of the Passage in question; and if I fail to make it good, desire at least, that it may not be imputed to any insincerity, but incapacity and mere ignorance of the *Greek Tongue*;

¹ Reply, p. 21, 22.

since with all the Skill I am master of, I can draw out of it no other meaning but what I am going to explain : and I don't question but to convince every sensible Reader, that 'tis not I, who would warp and force the Words of *Josephus* to any meaning different from their own, but you ; who being first warp'd yourself with prejudice, and prepossessed with Systems, which you hold sacred and inviolable, cannot relish any Truth, but what you can bend and accommodate to those previous Notions : But in order to set this Question in a clear light, it will be necessary to insert the entire Paragraph ; where I hope the Reader will excuse the tediousness of a Translation, which I am forced by your Cavils to present him with, desiring only, as 'tis a matter of some Importance, that he will give it a candid and impartial Attention. The whole Passage then runs thus.

Let us consider then in the first place the Greatness of Moses's Actions. He having gathered together our Ancestors, after they had resolved to leave Ægypt and return to their native Country, into a mighty Body, brought them with safety thro' many and almost insuperable difficulties. For it was necessary for them to march thro' a Country without Water, and wide tracts of Sand ; and all the while to fight their way thro' their Enemies, with their Children, Wives and Baggage to take care of. In all which Circumstances he approved himself a most

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excellent

excellent General, a most wise Counsellor, a most true and careful Guardian of them all. He brought the whole Multitude to depend wholly on himself; and tho' he had them entirely obedient in every thing to his Command, he turn'd all this to no particular profit or advantage of his own; and in that very opportunity, which other Governors chiefly make use of, to establish themselves in Power and Tyranny, and with that view indulge the People in a loose disorderly way of Life: He on the contrary, in this height of Authority, thought himself bound to live religiously and piously and shew great Benevolence to the People; thinking by that means the most effectually to demonstrate his own Vertue, and provide in the best manner for the security of those, who had chosen him their Leader. His Intentions then being so laudable and his Actions so great, he justly believed that he had the Deity for his Guide and Counsellor: and having first persuaded himself, that all he was doing or contriving was agreeable to the Will of God, he thought it necessary above all things to instill the same notion into the People: since those, who are persuaded, that God overlooks their Life and Conduct, will not venture on any thing illegal or sinful: Such an one was our Legislator, not a Sorcerer or Impostor, as some unjustly asperse him, but such an one, as they boast Minos to have been among the Greeks, and the other Lawgivers after him: for some of them imputed their Laws to — but Minos ascrib'd his

to

to Apollo and his Delphic Oracle, either really believing so themselves, or fancying by that means to make the People submit to them the more easily. But which of them (Moses or the others) has drawn up the best Body of Laws, and which had best pretence to be persuaded of God's Assistance (or otherwise, which of them has hit upon the best and justest Notions of a God) may be decided by comparing the Laws themselves; of which 'tis now time to give some Account: There are then throughout the World infinite differences of particular Customs and Laws, which yet we may reduce to these general Heads. Some have thrown the form of their publick Affairs into a Monarchy; others into the Power of a few or an Oligarchy; others into the Multitude or a Democracy: but our Lawgiver had no regard to any of these; but, if a Man may use an expression so forc'd, made the form of Government be instituted, a Theocracy¹.

This, Sir, is a faithful Translation of the whole Passage in the clearest manner I am able to render it; and to shew the insignificance of your Cavils, I have in all those places where you find fault with me, given the very turn and force to the expression which you require; and yet there is not in the whole Paragraph one word in favour of the *divine Mission, or Inspiration of Moses*, in that sense of it, in which 'tis vulgarly received; but on

¹ Cont. Ap. l. 2. c. 16.

the contrary, all the Glory of his great Actions, as well as of his Laws are ascribed to *his own Vertue, Skill and Address*. In the first Part, which contains a short Abstract or general Character of his Actions, we find not the least hint of any *Miracle* or the *immediate Interposition* of God ; we are not told, how the People must have been cut in pieces, when overtaken by *Pharoah at the Red Sea* ; had not God miraculously opened a Passage for them thro' the midst of it : how they must have perished for want of Water ; had not God for their Refreshment made it *to flow out of a Rock* : how they must have starved for want of Food in the Desert ; had not God in a wonderful manner *sent it down to them from Heaven* : but the saving of them thro' all these Difficulties, thro' *want of Water, want of Food*, is here solely imputed to the Care and Conduct of *Moses*, and wholly turned to his particular Praise ; till we come to the place you chiefly insist on ; viz. that *Moses with such laudable Designs and such great Actions reasonably believed that he had God for his Guide and Counsellor*. And what is there in this to support the Notion of such a *particular Inspiration*, as is commonly ascribed to *Moses* ? What is there in this Persuasion of his, but what every good Man in the same Situation, must needs be persuaded of too ? A Magistrate convinced of the being of a God and a Providence, and conscious,

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that every purpose of his Heart intends the Honour of that God, and the Good of the People he governs, cannot help believing himself to be under the special care of the Deity. This flows from the very reason and nature of things, and can never be otherwise : God, as surely as he exists, must necessarily favour such a Man, and every such Man must as necessarily be convinced that God does so favour him. And this is all that *Josephus* can mean ; since he grounds the Persuasion *Moses* had of being under the *particular Guidance of God*, not on any facts of *special Revelation* or *divine Inspiration*, but on the *consciousness of his own upright Intentions*, backed by the great success of his Actions. And such a Persuasion will always have more or less influence on the Mind, as it falls in with a Constitution more or less inclined to *Superstition* or *Enthusiasm*, (the peculiar Character of the *Jewish Nation*) which is apt to impute every laudable Thought, and every successful Action to the special Suggestion and Assistance of Heaven. And we see from what follows, that *Josephus* thought it possible for Lawgivers to be possessed of such a belief, without any good ground for it ; since he makes it a question, whether the *Grecian Legislators* were really persuaded, like *Moses*, or only pretended to be so, of the *immediate Assistance of Heaven* ; but whether they

were

were or were not, 'tis certain however at least, that they could have no *real Inspiration*.

But the Sense I contend for is yet more clearly demonstrated by what follows : *That Moses having first persuaded himself that every thing he was doing was agreeable to the Will of God, thought it necessary above all things to instill the same Notion into the People ;* because such a Notion instilled would naturally engage them to be better Men and better Subjects. Now if all is to be taken literally, just as 'tis represented in the Sacred Scriptures, what occasion could there be for any such care or thought of *Moses* about *propagating this Notion among the People* ? The thing must have been done to his hands without any contrivance of his at all : the Miracles he daily wrought must necessarily convince the People of it ; who could not see *the Glory of God descending and talking with him* so oft in the midst of them, without knowing that *every thing he did was agreeable to the Divine Will*. As *Josephus* therefore in this place imputes the *instilling this Notion* into the People to the *Skill and Address of Moses*, he could not intend to persuade us that this was done by the help of *real Miracles*, for they leave no room for any such Management or Address, but do the business of themselves without it ; but by *pretending to Miracles* where there really were none, and *deceiving the People* by a shew of something like them into an opinion that
they

were actually done. This is the Method, that all other *Lawgivers* in the World have ever taken, as oft as they have wanted or *thought it necessary to instil the same Notion into the People* ; and 'tis indeed the only Method it can be done by, since if any one had the *actual power of Miracles*, he could have no occasion to project or think at all about it ; the thing must necessarily follow of course ; and by a constant series of miraculous Events the Notion obtain of itself among the People.

But to obviate all offence, which I have no intention to give, I must beg the Reader to remember always and take along with him, that I am not declaring here any Sentiments of my own, or examining what was the true Fact and real Case of *Moses* ; but what *Josephus*, from the Passage we are now considering, must necessarily either think himself, or desire that others should think of it ; which will be more clearly explained still by what follows.

Such an one, says he, *was our Legislator, not a Sorcerer* ; that is, not one, who did the Miracles he pretended to by any magical Art or infernal Power : *nor an Impostor* ; who used the pretence of Miracles to cheat and deceive for his own Gain or Advantage ; but *just such an one as the Greeks boast their Minos and other Lawgivers to have been, who ascribed the invention of their own Laws to the*
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Gods :

Gods : And here you lay, I find, a great Stress on the Word *boast*, ἀυχᾶσι, as if it gave a contrary turn to the Sense, from what I have represented, and carried in it the Notion of Falshood and Lying ; and that *Josephus* intended to signify, *that Moses really was, what they boasted only, or falsely pretended their Lawgivers to be* : A Distinction childish and ridiculous ! since 'tis certain both from the use of Language and common Sense that the word *boast* or *brag of*, as 'tis applied here to Men famous and excellent in their Generations, can have no other Signification than to *be proud of*, or *celebrate with Praise* ; and the full Import of the Sentence is, *that Moses was such an one as Minos, and the other Legislators, whom the Greeks are so proud, or make such a boasting of.*

And, pray Sir, after all, what is it that the *Greeks boast so much of* in these very Men ? Is it that they were *really inspired* by the Gods in the Contrivance of their Laws ? No, there was hardly a *Greek* of Sense, who ever believed it ; or had their Laws been dictated by the *Delphic Oracle*, would have believed it the more for that ; as I could easily shew from Antiquity : All that they boasted and admired so much in them, was, that after they had contrived an excellent Body of Laws, they had the Address to persuade the People, that *those Laws were dictated by the Gods* ; that un-

der the Influence of such a Persuasion they might submit to them the more willingly. Do not the *Roman Writers* boast highly of their *Numa*, as of an excellent Prince, and wise Lawgiver ; and for proof of his Wisdom do not they tell us the Contrivances he used to instil the Notion into the People, that his *religious Institutions were suggested by the Gods* ? But they were not so silly as to believe the Fact itself to be true ; that he *really was inspired by a Goddess*, or received the *An-cile or holy Shield from Heaven* : These things they celebrate as the Instances of his Skill and Policy, in order to procure the greater Reverence to his Laws : And such an one *Josephus* in this Place describes *Moses* to have been : Just as *Diodorus Siculus* had done before him ; whose Words, as they are very much to our present Purpose, I cannot forbear inserting : *The same kind of Fiction, says he, is said to have been used in many other Nations, and to have been the occasion of much good to those who believed it. Among the Arimaspi, Zathraustis pretended to have received his Laws from a good Spirit or Genius ; among the Getæ, Zamolxis from the Goddess Vesta ; among the Jews, Moses from the God called, Iao : Whether imagining that every Invention or Thought beneficial to Mankind was really wonderful and divine, or that the Multitude out of regard to the Excellence and Power of the supposed Authors of*

their Laws would be the more readily induced to obey them^r.

But in the next Words, *Josephus*, you say, *puts a wide difference between the Jewish and all other Lawgivers* : And so I own he does, by affirming *Moses's Laws to be much better than theirs* ; which he proceeds to demonstrate by a Comparison of the Particulars : and from this superior Excellency of his Laws he infers a superior Right to propagate the Notion of *their coming from God* : so that his Argument runs thus : *Moses was no Magician or Impostor ; but a wise and excellent Man, just such an one as Minos and the other Lawgivers of Greece ; these imputed their Laws to the Gods, as Moses had done before them ; but Moses had a much better right to do so than they, because his Laws are much better than theirs*. Every one will see the force of this Reasoning ; for whoever is conscious to himself, that he has formed the best Body of Laws, has certainly the best pretence either himself to imagine, that he had the *Assistance of God in them* ; or to deceive the People with the Notion of his being so assisted : for as the sole end of such Deceit is the *Good of the People*, he must needs have the best Title to make use of it, who had the *greatest Good* to propose.

But the last Article of *this Master-piece of Quotation* is still the strongest towards clinch-

^r Biblioth. Hist. l. 1. p. 84. Edit. Laur. Rhodom.

ing the whole, to the Sense I have been establishing : for 'tis said, we see, that *Moses in projecting a frame of Government for his People, had no regard to any other kind then subsisting in the World, whether Monarchy, Oligarchy, or Democracy, but made his Government a Theocracy* : Now this is a short Explication of all that went before : for how is it in the power of any Mortal to make a *Theocracy* ? Is it possible for a Prince or State, by calling upon or devoting themselves to God, to engage him to take upon himself the *absolute, immediate* and as it were *personal Direction* of their particular Affairs ? Yet this, we see, is ascribed to *Moses*, that he *made a Theocracy*, which, as far as it was his pure Act and Deed, as 'tis here described, can bear no other Sense, than that he managed matters so, as to persuade the People that every thing ordered or effected by publick Authority, was done by the *immediate Appointment and Direction of God*. This must needs have been *Josephus's Notion of the Jewish Theocracy*, as far as we can collect it from his Words ; let's apply it then to a particular Instance.

Moses was to build a *Tabernacle* or House of publick Worship for the People : what was then to be done ? Why, if as in other Countries he had been a *Monarch*, he would have called for his Workmen, pitched upon a Plan and ordered the Work to be executed : or had he been the Presiding Magistrate

strate in a Commonwealth, would have done the same thing with the Consent and Authority of the People : But he had made his Government a *Theocracy* ; and 'twas *God* therefore who must name the Workmen : and *God*, we read, accordingly pitched upon *Two*, the most famed, we may imagine, for their Skill in Building and all kinds of Workmanship ¹ : For as *Josephus* says of this very Fact ; *God chose the very same Persons, which the People would have done, had the Choice been left to them* ². What then do the Workmen do ? Why in any other State, under the Inspection of the Magistrate, they would have formed a Model of their Work, and contrived the Patterns of all its Vessels and Furniture ; but as this was a *Theocracy*, they durst project nothing of themselves, durst not venture on making even a *Table* or *Candlestick*, but by the *immediate Order of God*, and a *Pattern given from Heaven*.

This was the *Theocracy*, that *Moses* contrived ; where you, Sir, may believe if you please, that with all his Wisdom he was not able to direct the building a Chapel ; nor the best Workmen in his Camp to make a *Candlestick* and *Snuffers* but by *divine Inspiration*, and after a *Model given by God* : But you must not expect to persuade us, that *Josephus* believed so

¹ Exod. xxxi. 2, 6. it. xxxvi. 1.
ἱπτελεξατο, τ' ἱξουσιας ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἡγορεύης.

² Οὗς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐ-
Antiq. l. 3. c. 6.

too : since the contrary is very evident ; and that he had a mind at least to leave a liberty and latitude in explaining the manner of this *Theocracy*.

Upon the whole ; had you known how to expound a Paragraph rationally, by considering the general Sense of the whole, and then connecting one part with the other ; you might have saved me much Trouble and yourself the Shame of exposing your want of Judgment by such senseless Cavils : and instead of this Outcry against me, must have praised rather the Temper and Modesty of the Inference I draw, in recommending only *more moderate and qualified Sentiments of the divine Inspiration of Moses*, than what are vulgarly received : for according even to your own Interpretation, does not *Josephus*, in the Passage just recited, use much more Reserve and Caution in asserting the *marvellous and supernatural* part of *Moses's Character*, than what his *literal History* does ? And if so ; the Inference is certainly just, that it might be a hint to us, to use the same *Reserve and Moderation* too in thinking and speaking on the same Subject.

But you say, that *Josephus* in this place was as far from the thought of any such Inference as I make, as Attention or Sincerity was from me when I read it ; and if ever I had read his *Jewish Antiquities*, I must know that he never represents the Law but as given to the Jews by
God

*God himself, thro' the hand of Moses*¹. I have read his *Jewish Antiquities*; and from that very reading have collected the contrary; that his real Sentiments of the *divine Inspiration of Moses* were very little different from what is represented above. For tho' he undertakes in that Work to deduce and connect a *perpetual History of the Jews* from the beginning of the World, as 'tis found in the *sacred Records of the Old Testament*; yet he takes such liberty with many of the Facts there recorded, by *suppressing* some, *altering* and *accommodating* others to the ordinary Taste and common Sense of Mankind, as he neither could or durst have done, had he believed them to have been *really and strictly effected by God* in the very manner as the *literal Text* imports: to give one Instance out of many.

After his account of the *Passage of the Israelites thro' the Red Sea*, he subjoins this Reflection: *I have given every particular of this Story just as I found it in the Sacred Books: but let no Man be surprized at the strangeness of it, that such an ancient and innocent People should find a way opened for their escape thro' the Sea, either by the special Will and Interposition of God, or the accidental Concurrence of Natural Causes. Since in a like case as it were of yesterday, the Pamphylian Sea retired before Alexander of Macedon, and opened him a Passage, where there*

¹ Reply, p. 22.

was no other way for him, when God had a mind to put an end to the Persian Empire. And this is affirmed by all who have written of his Actions. But for these things, let every Man take them in what Sense he best likes¹.

Now 'tis impossible, that he could have left it in doubt, whether this Fact had any thing *miraculous* in it or not, had he entertained any firm and certain belief of the *absolute and universal Inspiration of the sacred Writings*, which represent it, as one of the most *signal and illustrious Miracles*, that God ever wrought by the hand of *Moses*.

To the Authority of *Josephus* I shall just add that of *Philo*; whose Words, as quoted by *Eusebius*, may be render'd thus: *As for the Man, whoever he was, who gave them their Laws, they had him in so great Admiration, that whatsoever he approved, they approved too. Whatever therefore he dictated to them, whether he had contrived and invented it himself, or had received it from the Deity, they imputed it all to God*².

I shall make no Reflection on this Passage, but leave it to the Reader to consider, whether it is not more reasonable, with *these pri-*

¹ ———'Εἴτε κατὰ βούλησιν Θεῶν, εἴτε κατ' αὐτόματον, &c. — πρὸς μὲν τούτων ὡς ἐκάστῳ δοκεῖ ἀγλαμβανέτω. *Antiq. lib. 2. c. 16. Ed. Hudson.*

² Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἄνθρωπος ἐκείνους, ὅς τις ποτε ἦν ὁ τῶν νόμων αὐτοῖς Θεός, ἔτι σφόδρα ἐθαύμασαν, ὡς ὅτι δήποτε ἔδοξεν ἐκείνῳ καὶ αὐτοῖς· εἴτε οὖν λελογισμένους αὐτὸς, εἴτε ἀκούων παρὰ δαίμονος ἔφρασε, τῆτο ἅπαν εἰς τὸν Θεὸν ἀνάγειν. *Euseb. Præpar. Evang. l. 8. ex Philone de exitu ab Ægypto.*

mitive and judicious Apologists of the Jewish Religion, to allow some liberty of thinking, as to the Divinity of their sacred Books, than with our modern Zealots to calumniate and persecute for ever all who differ from them in Opinion about Questions of such Difficulty and Uncertainty ; yet no sooner does a Man enquire with Freedom into the true State of any Scriptural Façt, but the Alarm Bell is founded, and the Clergy admonished of a dangerous Attempt against the Authority of Moses. But consider, Sir, that the effectual way of ruining a Fabrick, is to charge it with a greater Load than it was made to bear ; and the surest Method of weakening any thing is not by restraining it within its due Bounds, but by forcing and stretching it beyond what Nature and Reason designed it for. Now because this is a Question of great Nicety and Importance, which you seem not much acquainted with, it may be worth while to open it a little further, and add a Word or two more before I dismiss it.

'Tis the common Notion of all the Greek Fathers, that the divine Plato had greatly studied the Books of Moses, and made much use of them in his own : So that Clemens of Alexandria and others call him the Attick Moses¹ : and both Clemens and Eusebius take much pains

¹ Νουμῆνιος δὲ ὁ Πυθαγόρειος, ἀντικρὺς γράφει, τὸ ἐπὶ Πλάτων, ὃ Μωσῆς ἀπέκλιζαν. Strom. l. 1. c. 22. Edit. Potter.

in pointing out the particular Notions and Sentiments which he had borrowed from *Moses*¹. As we have seen then already from some Passages above what is delivered of the Character and Abilities of the first *Moses* ; so let us see likewise what this *Attick Moses* says of the proper Qualifications and Perfections of *such a Lawgiver*. Why he says, *that he ought to consider and contrive nothing else so much, as to instil such Notions into the People as are likely to do them the greatest good*². And this is exactly agreeable to the Character of *Moses*, as 'tis given almost in the very Words of *Plato* by the *Jewish Writers* as well as *Primitive Fathers*. But in order to execute his good Intentions towards the People, *the Magistrate or Legislator will often find it necessary*, according to *Plato*, *for the good of his Subjects, to invent certain Fables, Fictions, or political Lies, to be propagated among them, as Medicine or Physick to obviate and cure ill Principles, as well as to infuse good ones* : and above all, *to influence the Minds of the younger Sort so, as to make them submit willingly and chearfully to the Laws prescribed*. And to shew how readily the Multitude may be drawn into the Belief of any thing proposed by an artful Governor, he instances in the *Fable of the Dragon's Teeth sown*

¹ Vid. Clem. Alex. ibid. c. xxv. &c. It. Euseb. Præpar. Evan. l. 12. &c.

² "Ωσε εἰδὲν ἄλλο αὐτὸν δεῖ σκοπεῖν τὰ ἀνυελίσκεν, ἢ τὶ πείσας μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἐργάσαιο ἂν πόλιν. De Leg. 2. p. 664.

*in the Ground, from each of which an armed Man immediately sprang up; which, as absurd as it is, was yet once, he says, swallowed for true by the People*¹.

Now the chief End proposed by *Plato* for the Invention of these *Fables* or *Lies*, is to keep the People the more religiously attached to an exact Observance of their Laws, and Obedience to their Governors. And this is what *Josephus* every where insists on, as the peculiar Praise and Character of *Moses* above all other Lawgivers in the World; that he had his People from their very Childhood trained to the most inviolable Devotion to his Laws, and the most profound Reverence for his Person². Now should I take the liberty to say, that *Plato's* Notion of the use and necessity of *Publick Fables* or *Lies*, was borrowed from the *Mosaic Writings*, and suggested by what he had observed in the Practice and Example of *Moses*, what an Outcry would the shallow Bigots make of weakening his Authority, and favouring Infidelity? Yet *Clemens of Alexandria* and *Eusebius*, I find, say much the same thing, and make this Reasoning and these very Sentiments of *Plato* a clear Proof his Acquaintance with the *Mosaic History*.

Clemens speaking of the *Art of Governing*, tells us among other things, that the ends of

¹ Vid. Plat. de Repub. l. 3. p. 414. & alibi. it. de legib. l. 2. p. 663. ² Vid. Antiq. l. 3. c. 15. §. 3. It. con. Ap. l. 2.

Government are to be served by persuading, or forcing, or injuring—or doing what is just, or lying, or telling Truth, as different Circumstances require ; Examples of all which, says he, and how to use each of them properly, the Greeks to their great Advantage have borrowed from Moses¹,

Eusebius after having explained Plato's Opinion about the Necessity of contriving proper Fables and Fictions for the Good of the People ; declares, the Case to have been just the same with the Jews, and that in the Books of Moses there are infinite Examples of this kind of Fictions contrived for the Benefit of the Multitude.².

But is the Notion then, you'll say, of the *Divine Origin of the Law and Inspiration of Moses* to be resolved into *Fiction* and *Fable* or *Political Lying* ? No ; far be it from me to think or say that : But this perhaps one may venture to say ; that the Supposition of some degree of *such Fiction*, may possibly be found necessary to the solving the Difficulties of the *Mosaic Writings*, without any hurt to their Authority, or advantage to Infidelity ; since the best and most zealous Apologists of the *Jewish Religion* have not scrupled, we see, to allow it on some occasions ; especially when it was their business to explain and propose it

¹ Strom. 1. p. 417. Edit. Potter.
 gel. p. 356. Edit. R. Steph.

² Præp. Evan-

to Strangers ; not with any design to *weaken*, but to *strengthen* it the more effectually in the good Opinion of the World ; by shewing its *Founder Moses*, to have been the same kind of Man with those *other Lawgivers and Founders of States*, for whom the politeſt Nations have always had the utmoſt Honour and Veneration. For *there's nothing diſhonourable*, ſays *Plutarch*, in the common Story of *Lycurgus*, *Numa* and other ſuch *Lawgivers* ; that having great *Innovations* to make in the State, and a *perverſe and obſtinate People* to deal with, they *invented the Fiction of a divine Miſſion or Revelation*, ſalutary and beneficial to thoſe for whoſe ſake they contrived it ¹.

But to return into the way, from whence we have digreſſed. You go on to expoſe my *manner of miſquoting*, as you call it ², in ſome Paſſages I had produced from *Herodotus* ; and affirm, that I have *partially quoted him on purpoſe to deceive my Reader no leſs than five times in about twice the number of lines* ³. Let us examine the Truth of this ſolemn and heavy Accuſation.

Fiſt then, I quote *Herodotus* for ſaying, that the *Ægyptians* were governed by *Laws and Cuſtoms peculiar to themſelves and different from thoſe of other Nations*. This, you own, is Truth, but not the whole Truth ; for *Herodotus*

¹ Plut. Numa. p. 62. E. Edit. Pariſ.

¹ Reply, p. 22.

³ Ib. p. 27, 28.

says, that their Laws were different from those of all other Nations. But I judged it necessary, it seems, to drop the word *all*, lest the Reader should perceive the Absurdity of attempting to shew from this Place, that the Jews agreed with them in their Customs¹. Surely no Cavil was ever so trifling : For is not the Word *all* of necessity implied and understood in the very Sense I have given ? If the *Ægyptian* Laws were, as I say, *peculiar* to themselves, does not that *Peculiarity* infer a Difference from *all* other Nations ? But suppose the Word *all* not implied only, but actually inserted ; how does it shew any Absurdity in my Reasoning, or at all affect it ? My Argument previously supposes some Resemblance of Customs between the *Jews* and *Ægyptians*, grounded on the long Residence of the *Jews* in *Ægypt* ; where for above two hundred Years they are supposed to have *complied with the Customs*, and *conformed even to the Religion of the Country*² : As the Turn then and Genius of the *Ægyptians* disposed them to affect a *Peculiarity in their Laws*, and a *difference of Manners from all other Nations* ; so the *Jews* also, among whom we find *the same Disposition and Affectation of Peculiarity*, may well be supposed to have derived this Humour from *Ægypt*. So that your Criticism is grounded

¹ Reply, p. 23.² Vid. Spencer de Legib. Hæb. l. 1. c. 1.

meerly in your own Mistake of the very Argument you pretend to criticise.

Secondly, I say on the Authority of *Herodotus*, that the *Ægyptians* were more addicted to *Prodigies* and *Miracles* than any other People: And here you tell me, that I once more deceive my Reader, even at the expence of a false Quotation, since in the place referred to, *Herodotus* speaks not a word of *Miracles*, but of *Prodigies* only¹. As if a *Superstitious* Regard to *Prodigies* did not imply an equal Regard to *Miracles*; and those who are so fond of the one, were not of necessity as much addicted to the other; as it might easily be proved of the *Ægyptians* in particular by many other Authorities, if this before us was not sufficient. But *τέρατα* the word used here signifies, you say, *Prodigies*, and does it not signify *Miracles* too? If you think not, I would advise you to consult your Dictionary, before you set up for a Critick: Nay, the very Reason you give why *Prodigies* must needs be meant in this Place and not *Miracles*, proves just the contrary: For they were *such things*, you say, *as could be found out, which Miracles could not be*: Now 'tis certain, that *Miracles* may be contrived, invented, or found out, as *τέρατα ἀνέυρηται*, may properly be rendered; but the same cannot be said of monstrous Births, unnatural Copulations, &c. which you give as the Instances of *Prodigy*: And what, I pray, are the *τέρα ἔργα* mentioned by

¹ Reply, p. 24.

Authors ; *the Makers of monstrous Births or the Forgers of Miracles?* The following Words indeed are applicable properly to *Prodigies* ; but if the Sentence I have quoted be compleat in itself, as it seems to be considered in all our Editions, where 'tis distinguished by a full point ; then it leads more naturally to the Notion of *Miracles* than of *Prodigies* : However the same Word carries certainly in it the Notion of both, and a superstitious Attention to the one necessarily infers the same Regard to the other : So that your Observation has neither the use of Language nor Sense to support it.

Thirdly, I add, that *the Ægyptians had an High Priest, with an Hereditary Priesthood descending from Father to Son.* To this you reply, *that 'tis unlucky for me that according to Herodotus they had not an High Priest over the whole Nation, as the Jews had, but one over each County or Province, of which there were thirty six ; a Constitution so different from that of the Jews, that if I had represented it right, I could never lead my Reader to agree with me, that Moses borrowed it from Ægypt of all Countries under Heaven*¹. Most acute and ingenious Reasoning ! as if instead of a Similitude of Custom, which is all I endeavour to shew, I had undertaken to prove an Identity or absolute Uniformity in all Points and Circumstances : Should a Foreign Prince take a

¹ Reply, p. 25.

fancy to copy the *Hierarchy of England*, and in proportion to the Extent of his Dominions, establish either *one Archbishop* with subordinate *Bishops* ; or *one Bishop* with subordinate *Priests* ; which last Case was upon the Matter executed by the late *King of Prussia* : You without doubt would argue that the Hint could not possibly be taken from *England* ; because We had *two Archbishops* and He but *one*, or We *Archbishops* and *Bishops*, and He only *a Bishop*. Your Reasoning is full as ridiculous in the Case before us ; as if *Moses* could not take the Government of the *Distrikt* or *Province* he lived in, as a Pattern for his own petty State, which was hardly much more considerable than a *single County of Ægypt*.

But 'tis unlucky for me, you say, that *Herodotus* is not speaking here of any such *High Priest* as the *Jews* had, one over the whole Nation, but one over each *Province*. Yet all the ill luck, I doubt, will be found at last on your side ; who taking your Notions from separate Passages of Authors, which you interpret presently according to your own Prejudices, have happened in this Place, as in many others, to guess quite wrong. For tho' *Herodotus* tells us here¹, that there were *many Priests to each God*, and consequently a great Number of them in the whole ; yet he must be understood to mean, that there was *one High Priest* over those many

¹ Herod. l. 2. c. 37.

or the whole Number. This is very clear from other Passages of his History, where he plainly intimates that there was but *one High Priest over the whole Nation*, just as there was but *one King* : That the *Number of their High Priests and their Kings, in a Succession of 341 Generations, happened to be exactly equal* : That each *High Priest provided a Statue of himself to perpetuate his Memory to Posterity* : And that he himself was introduced by the Priests into a large Room or Temple, where these Statues were deposited, and saw 341 of Colossian Size, the Images of so many High Priests in lineal Descent from Father to Son¹. Which cannot, I think, be applicable to any other *High Priest*, but just such an one as the Jews had, one over the whole Nation.

Fourthly, *The Ægyptians, I say, abhorred Swine's Flesh as impure and abominable*. And here indeed you own, that I deliver the true Sense of Herodotus ; to which I had added an Authority of Josephus to the very same Purpose. As the Fact then is certain and agreed, that the Ægyptians generally abhorred Swine's Flesh, and abstained from it superstitiously ; how can this be made an Instance of my falsifying or misquoting Herodotus ? Why, because there are three Circumstances, as you observe with your usual Acuteness, in which the Behaviour of the Jews and Ægyptians with regard to

¹ Herod. l. 2. c. 143.

*Swine were not alike*¹. But if there had been *threescore* instead of *three*, it had been nothing at all to the purpose, since the Fact I contend for is allowed : All that I pretend to intimate, is, from the near Resemblance of many Customs, that *the Jews* might probably have borrowed them from *Ægypt* : You cry out on the other hand, that the Inference is *unjust, partial, and contrived to deceive*, because I do not shew in all points an *Identity of Custom*. All which Clamour proves just nothing but your own want of Judgment, in not reflecting, that a Custom may be borrowed, and yet altered, enlarged or restrained as the Borrower shall afterwards find convenient.

But there is one Observation of yours, which I can't help taking notice of here; that since the Customs which the *Jews* had in common with the *Ægyptians*, were in use likewise in several other Countries ; why, say you, *must they needs have been borrowed from Ægypt rather than from any other Country*²? This you repeat, and insist on again in another place³; nay you go so far in one Instance as to declare, *that of all Countries under Heaven Ægypt was the most unlikely to derive the Custom from*⁴. Now I cannot for my life conceive, how 'tis possible for one, who knows any thing of the *Jewish History*, and has the least grain of

¹ Rep'y, p. 27.² Ib. p. 25.³ Ibid. p. 42.⁴ Ibid. p. 25.

Judgment, to put so silly a Question. The *Jewish Nation* was nursed up in *Ægypt* from its very Infancy, and during a Residence there of above 200 Years grew up from one single Family into a mighty People : In all which Time, as is above mentioned, they were trained in *all the Customs*, and complied even with the *Religion and Idolatry of the Country* : and even after they had quitted it, they retained still, we find, the old fondness for the *Customs, Ceremonies and Worship* they had been used to ; and this not only on their Journey, when the Impression and Memory of those Customs were strong on their Minds, but when they were settled in quiet Possession of the promised Land, and formed into a regular State ; where they continued remarkable for nothing so much as their Aversion to Strangers, and their Care to preserve themselves separate and clear of any Mixture with all other Nations. If this be true, as it certainly is, what ground can there possibly be for what you so oft inculcate ; *that they might have borrowed their Customs from any other Country as probably as from Ægypt* ? Every Man of Sense must needs laugh at you for entertaining the least thought of its Probability ; which you might however have entertained as long as you please, had you but excused me from thinking it probable too, and not made this very instance, in which I follow *Reason, Fact and History*, a Proof of my *Partiality and Prejudice against Moses*.

Fifthly

Fifthly, I have passed over one of your Observations in my way, about the Treatment of *Leprous Persons*, on purpose to give it a particular Answer ; as it is the only one in your Book, where your Charge upon me of *misquoting* is supported with any Truth or Reason. The Passage however is found in *Herodotus*, in the very Sense I had given to it, tho' not, it seems, among the *Customs of Ægypt*, where I had ranged it, but of *Persia*¹. But tho' it would not perhaps be difficult to shew, that the same treatment of *Leprosy* was practised also in *Ægypt* ; yet, as the Quotation stands, I cannot but own it to be the effect of Negligence and want of Attention in me : I took it from my Papers, whither I had transcribed it, and not having the Original near me, or being in haste to finish what was before me, I trusted to Memory and the Persuasion I was under, that the Fact was related of *Ægypt* : Which I allow to be a Fault that deserves Animadversion, as I should as frankly have done in any other Article you charge me with, had there appeared any just Ground or Reason for such Charge. But since you have taken from me *one Ægyptian Custom*, I think myself obliged to replace it with another, viz. the *Laws about Animals clean and unclean* ; which the learned *Cotelerius* allows to have been taken probably *from the*

¹ Reply, p. 26.

*Practice of Ægypt; to which the Hebrew Nation, he says, were too much addicted*¹; and gives us a Quotation of Porphyry, from Chæremon the Ægyptian Historian, importing, that the *Priests of Ægypt abstained from Fish, and all four footed Beasts, whose Hoofs either were not cloven at all, or cloven into many Divisions, or such as had not Horns (or, what comes to the same, did not chew the Cud) and all carnivorous Birds*³.

It would be endless to run thro' all the *Jewish Customs*, which Men of the greatest Learning and Experience in these Studies have deduced from the Practice of Ægypt. There's such an *Affinity*, says Kircher, *between the Jewish and Ægyptian Rites, Sacrifices, Ceremonies; that either the Ægyptians must have Hebraised, or the Hebrews Ægyptised*³: but which of them followed the other in these Rites, is so clearly decided by the learned Spencer, that *no Man, unless supinely credulous, as he says, can believe it to have been the Ægyptians*⁴. And indeed both he and Marsham derive in a manner the *whole ritual Law* from this very Source of Ægypt: *The moveable Tabernacle, Ark of the Covenant, Cherubims, Altar, Sacrifices, Priestly Vestments, the Sabbath, Festivals, Washings,*

¹ Vid. Barnabæ Epist. ex Editione Cotelerii c. x. Not. 42. p. 30.

² Ibid. p. 36. Not. 78.

³ Propyl. Agonist. c. 2. apud Oedip. Ægypt. T. 1.

⁴ Nemo vero nisi supinè credulus, opinari potest Ægyptios, &c. de Leg. Hebræor. l. 3. c. 2. Sec. 2. p. 650.

*Purifications, Oracles, Prophecy, Divination, &c.*¹.

You go on to observe, that I *shew my Skill or great Negligence of quoting, in falsely rendring into English the Latin Translation of Maimonides's Words*². Hard indeed, not to allow me capable of translating even *Latin*: but whatever you please to allow, I pretend to a Skill which you are not yet Master of, of rendring the true Meaning of a Passage agreeably to the general Notion conveyed by it, without trifling and dwelling on the less significant words, so as to hurt the main and obvious Sense of the whole. Let us try your Criticism by this Rule. *Spencer* speaking of *Circumcision* in the Words of *Maimonides*,³ calls it *res durissima & difficillima*; here we have its Character and Description; and the main Notion of the Passage is, that it was a *most harsh and most hazardous* thing: Now is it possible that a thing in its Nature the *most dangerous*, could ever be performed without *some Danger*? But *I change*, you say, *the restraining Word, sometimes with Hazard, into some Hazard*: Where every body but yourself will see the Propriety of it, in order to make the Sentence consistent with itself: for as soon as I discover the true Sentiment of an Author, 'tis enough for me to catch hold of that, and

¹ Ibid. Lib. 3. c. 3. p. 663, &c.—It. Marsh. Can. Chron.

² Reply, p. 29.

³ *Res durissima & difficillima, nec sine vitæ discrimine quandoque subeunda.*

not like your solemn Pedants think myself obliged to follow the very Inaccuracies and Perplexities of the Original.

But you urge me still and say, that *I shew my usual Dexterity* in the use of a Passage taken from *Lightfoot*¹, on whose Authority I assert that *the frequent Mortality occasioned by Circumcision produced a standing Law, that when any Person had lost three Children successively by it, he was to be excused from circumcising the rest, in consequence of which there were actually many uncircumcised among them, &c.* Where *Lightfoot*, you observe, *speaks not a word either of a standing Law, or the frequent Mortality of Circumcision.* But does not the Case itself speak necessarily of both ? And can any Man be so silly as to think, that by a *standing Law* I could mean a *Law of Moses* ? No, the frequent Mortality occasioned by Circumcision produced a *Judgment* or *Decison*, as you own, of the *Rabbins* or *Jewish Doctors*, who were both Interpreters of the Law and Guides of Conscience, that *when a Man had lost three Children successively by Circumcision, he should be excused from circumcising the rest.* This I call a *standing Law* or *Practice*, or *Custom* ; grounded on a Decree of the proper Judges in the Case. But *Lightfoot*, you say, *does not speak a Word of the frequent Mortality of it.* But does not the Fact he mentions as some-

¹ Reply, p. 30.

times happening *of three Children dying of it successively*, necessarily imply and infer it? Allow the Case to have happened, tho' but seldom, and the other will follow of course : And here you shew, what you do indeed in every other Place, that your Cavils are founded only in your own Mistake of the very thing you cavil at : For you charge me as producing this Passage to prove, that the *Case of three Children's dying successively by Circumcision was frequent with them*¹ : Whereas all I endeavour to shew, is, that *the Mortality of Circumcision must needs be frequent*, because *that Case did sometimes happen* : no body can imagine the Case itself to be very common, tho' you allow *five or six Instances* of it on Record ; and if no more had ever happened, they are more than sufficient to shew, that Circumcision was *ordinarily dangerous and often mortal* : You will hardly deny the *Small Pox* to be *frequently mortal*, yet few or none perhaps know five or six Cases of *three Children dying successively of it* in the same Family : which yet happened so often, according to *Lightfoot*, thro' the danger of *Circumcision*, that there were *many uncircumcised* on that account both of the *Priests and People*. And thus the Words of *Maimonides* and Passage of *Lightfoot*, in spite of your Cavils, demonstra-

¹ Reply, p. 31.

bly prove all I contend for, *the frequent Mortality of Circumcision.*

I have now gone thro' your *Criticisms on my Quotations*, and have shewn them to be both false and trifling, void both of Learning and Judgment : But this, Sir, ought not to reflect so much Shame on you, as the want of Candour and Truth, and the love of Calumny you betray in the Management of them. At setting out you would persuade your Reader, that there's *scarce one Quotation*, which I have not abused and misrepresented ; yet out of *four score* you attempt only some slight Objections to *fifteen*, as you reckon, but as every body else will count, *thirteen* only ; the two last, as we shall presently see, being not Exceptions to my *Quotations*, (as to enhance the Number, you absurdly call them) but to my Reasonings : and of these *thirteen*, there's but a *poor single one* left you, in which you have shewn indeed some want of attention or too much haste in me, but no possible suspicion of any wilful Misrepresentation. Is this then the part of a Man of Honour or Integrity to calumniate so strongly on a Foundation so weak ? Is this suitable to the Gravity of the Person you assume, and your conjuring me so solemnly *in God's Name and for the sake of Sincerity, to weigh things better and report Facts more fairly* ¹ ? Will not the Reader be

¹ Reply, p 40, 41.

apt to entertain the same Suspicion of your Religion, as he must before have done of your Learning, that with all this Outcry about it, you have no real Esteem or Concern for it ; for which Reflection he will find still but too much Reason in what follows ?

You proceed to call over again the *Story of Babel*, and declare my Account of *that Confusion* to be *truly a confused one*¹ : where for the sake of a stupid Jest, you put your Judgment to some risk with the Reader ; who may not perhaps be of Opinion, that my way of writing is so *confused* as you would intimate : but to come to the Point. I shall first consider what you object to my Account of this Fact, and then examine the Merit of your own Exposition of it.

I have said in my *Letter*, that the Sons of Noah were so far from any Resolution of not dispersing themselves, that before the Confusion of Babel they had already begun to disperse and actually sent off a great Colony from the East to the Land of Shinaar². For this I produced the concurrent Testimony both of *Protestant and Papist*, both *Patrick and Calmet* ; and thought myself very orthodox and safe under the Shelter of such Authority ; but all, it seems, in vain ; since the *Question*, you say³, is not what any Commentator has fancied, but what the

¹ Reply, p. 31.

³ Reply, p. 32.

² Letter to Dr. Waterland, p. 41.

Scripture has taught about the Matter. How hard is it to deal with such thorough-paced Divines? *Commentators* are at some times every thing; at others nothing with them. Doctor *Waterland* contemns his Adversary for having *no Acquaintance* with them ¹; and you condemn me for being *acquainted* with them: The Doctor says, *that there's not one Commentator of Note but would have set his Antagonist right* ²; you pretend to shew, that *Two of the best Note* have set me *quite wrong* ³. But there cannot be much difficulty in defending *Patrick* and *Calmet* against such an Expositor as your self: let's try what can be done.

You observe, that in the end of the *tenth Chapter of Genesis* preceding the *Story of Babel*, 'tis said of the *Sons of Noah*, *that by them were the Nations divided in the Earth after the Flood.* And then it follows, Chap. xi. *And the whole Earth was of one Language and one Speech.* Where all Mankind, you say, is spoken of without the Exclusion of any Part. But pray, Sir, what do these two Verses import, but that the several Nations of the World were founded and peopled by the *Dispersion of the Sons of Noah*, and that before the *Confusion of Babel* the whole Earth had but *one Language*? Where the very Expression of the *whole Earth* seems to intimate some kind of dispersion and peopling of different Countries previous

¹ Script. Vind. Par. 1. p. 8. ² Ibid. p. 24. ³ Rep. p. 32.

to that *Confusion*. But in the next Verse 'tis said, *And it came to pass as they journeyed from the East, that they found a Plain in the Land of Shinaar and dwelt there.* That is ; of these *Sons of Noah*, by whom the *Nations* were divided, in the very Act of dividing and dispersing themselves, as one *great Part or Colony* travelled from the *East*, they found a convenient Plain and settled there. But here's not a *Word*, you say, *about their dispersing themselves, or sending of Colonies* : But is it not implied in this *journeying from the East*, or is it possible to disperse any otherwise than by journeying from one Place to another ? But there's no **H**int given, you observe, that this is to be understood of a *part of them* only, and not of the *whole*. But where the Text is silent, or obscure, must not we fill up the Sense of it from Reason and the Nature of things, which necessarily suggest such a Distinction ? For what Sense can there be in supposing, as you do, that the whole of Mankind must needs travel thus from Place to Place in one Body ? Why, *when they had consumed the Provision and Forage their first Settlement afforded, they were forced*, you say, *to remove to another*. But would not Reason and Necessity have taught them, that the only Remedy for this Evil must be their *separating* from each other and not *journeying together* ? For the same Inconvenience would always attend them, whilst they all held in a Body ; and there could have

been no end of their journeying, if they had hung together, till they had eat up every thing the Place afforded: All which Distress would have been prevented at once, if as soon as Victuals grew scarce for their *whole Number*, they had sent off a *Part* or *Colony* to fresh Quarters; whilst as many of them staid behind and kept Possession of the old ones, as they were capable of receiving.

Again, by supposing the *whole Body of Mankind* to be concerned and present at the *Confusion of Babel*, you involve *Noah and his Sons*, who were then alive, in the Guilt and Partnership of that Rebellion against God: But 'tis improbable or incredible rather, that such a *Preacher of Righteousness*, whose Faith and Virtues are so celebrated in Scripture, could either have consented himself to so wicked a Project, or that so *venerable a Parent of human Race* should not have Credit and Authority enough in his own Family to have restrained them from so daring an Impiety. So that 'tis on all accounts highly reasonable to conclude with the *learned Commentators* above mentioned, that it was but a *Colony* or *Part of the whole*, that travelled from the *East*, and were concerned in building the *Tower of Babel*.

But I had observed in my Letter, that *all we can collect from this Story is, that the Multitude at Babel, knowing they must soon be dispersed still further, had a mind before such Dispersion to erect some publick Monument of their*
common

*common Origin by building a City and a Tower that should reach as high as Heaven ; and that it was the Presumption and Arrogance of this Design that induced God to baffle it by confounding their Language, &c. Now you on the contrary affirm, that I collect from the Story a Design quite different from what the Story expressly mentions¹ : Where I must leave it to the Reader to judge whether I have justly represented the Sense of Scripture or no : For does it not plainly intimate, that the Ground of their offending God, was in the Design they had projected of building a Tower as high as Heaven ? Does it give any other Instance of their Arrogance and Presumption ? And does it not likewise expressly say, that their Intent was to raise themselves a Name by the Project they had formed ? The Story I declared to be a *strange one*, and durst not for that Reason venture on any other Solution of it, than what the very Words suggested. But I was misled, you say, and endeavour to mislead my Reader, by the Idle Translation of the Old Greek and Latin Interpreters ; since the Original imports just what our *English Version* gives ; let us build a City and a Tower that may reach to Heaven, and let us make a Name, lest we be scattered abroad, &c. And allowing all this ; does not even the Word *lest* imply an Apprehension or Notion that they should shortly be*

¹ Reply, p. 35.

obliged to disperse further ; and an Intention consequently to erect this *publick Monument and make themselves a Name before such Dispersion* ? But the Word *lest* according to you gives a quite different Turn to the Sense ; as if it had been said, *let us build a City and a Tower, to prevent or hinder our further Dispersion*. Strange Nonsense ! As if a Tower could change the Nature of Things, and prevent their being scattered abroad or dispersed to people the Earth : Unless you can suppose them resolved to combat Heaven itself, and silly enough to imagine that by the help of such Entrenchments they should be able to baffle the Power of the Almighty.

The Text then, whether we render it according to the *Seventy Interpreters* and the old *Latin*, or according to our *vulgar English* comes, we see, in a manner to the same thing : I cannot however dismiss it without observing the Rashness of your Censure on the *Old Greek Version*, which you call and *Idle Translation*, tho' it was so frequently used, and *authenticated* as it were by our *Saviour, the Apostles and Evangelists*, and held for *Sacred and Inspired* by all the *Primitive Fathers*.

I shall now just spend a Word or two in examining your own Account of *this Historical Fact* ; where tho' you seem cautious of using *Dr. Waterland's* Words, yet you assert in effect the very same thing, which in every Dress of Language will always be equally absurd.

furd. The *Doctör* says, that the *Sons of Noah* had formed a *Conspiracy* to hang together in a *Cluster*, and neither to disperse nor cultivate the *Ground*, had not *God* miraculously interposed to confound their *Projects*, &c¹. You say, that they were resolved to hold closely together; to adhere strictly to each other, and never to part, if *God* had not forced them to it, to prevent those *Quarrels* and *Wars* which would inevitably arise among them from their living together, &c². Strange, that such a loving, fond Society, that could not bear the thought of leaving each other; determined, as you say, to live and die together³, should so soon be engaged in *Quarrels* and *Wars*! But their Love, it seems, was so extravagant, that it was worse than Death to them to part, and they would chuse rather to kill one another, than live asunder. 'Tis surprizing, I say, that Men of any Understanding can take up with such Absurdities, and after much Pains and Plodding should have got no further in thinking than what their *Nurses* had taught them.

Had Mankind in those first Ages of the World been all confin'd within some *Island*, whence no Escape was practicable; the Account you give might have had some Reason in it, that as fast as their Numbers increased and their *Victuals* diminished, they must have been forced to destroy and prey

¹ Scripture Vindicated. Part 1. p. 42.

² Reply, p. 38, 39, &c.

³ Ib. p. 39.

upon each other : but even in such a Case, rather than perish by Hunger, they would have struggled hard and tried many an Invention of Floats and Vessels in quest of better Quarters by Sea : But to suppose such a Multitude in the middle of the Continent and in fruitful Plains determined to hold together till they starved, and like Men in the Extremity of a Siege, killing each other for want of Victuals, which yet might be had for fetching ; whilst Plenty and all the World lay before them, if they would but disperse themselves to the Enjoyment of it, is so senseless and absurd a Notion, that 'tis inconceivable how any Man can entertain it. There could not then be any want of a Miracle to bring about the *Dispersion of Mankind* in its infant, growing State ; or occasion for any other Command, than what was given to Man at his Creation and implanted in his Nature ; *encrease and multiply* ; the certain Consequence of which is to *disperse and replenish the Earth* : His own natural Appetites would necessarily force him to it, as soon as it became convenient, in spite of any Will or Resolution to the contrary, could any such without Absurdity be supposed.

You come at last to expose the *Falshood of the Historical Facts*, which *I have rashly advanced*, as you say¹, *in several Parts of my Letter* : Where one would imagine that you would

¹ Reply, p. 41.

have contested with me every *single Fact* I had touched upon, since you proclaim it in your *Title Page*, and undertake to shew the *general Falshood* of them all : Yet all the *Facts* you pretend to dispute with me are but *two* ; and of these *two*, the second, as I've observed above, is *no Question of Fact* at all, but a Squabble only about my Opinion or Manner of solving a *certain Fact* which we both allow to be delivered in History, viz. the *Confusion of Babel*. This you call *one of the Historical Facts*, that I have *falsly advanced* ; which shews the little Arts you are forced to use to raise an Outcry against me, and enhance the Sum total of my Malice and Impiety.

The *only Fact* then you contest with me, as *rashly advanced in my Letter*, is concerning the *Learning, Politeness, and flourishing Condition of Ægypt in Moses's Time*. I had asserted it to be more probable that the *Jews* should borrow from the *Ægyptians*, than the *Ægyptians* from the *Jews*, from the general Character of the two Nations, of the *Ægyptians*, as always *learned and polite* ; of the *Jews*, always *rude and illiterate*. And tho' I had assigned no Period of Time to their Fame for Learning, yet since my Reasoning supposes them possessed of it before *Moses's* time, I will here join Issue, and allow, as you say¹, that *the Question between us is, whether Ægypt was so great a Kingdom, so polite a Nation in*

¹ Reply, p. 42.

Moses's time as I have represented it. This then is the Fact, that I undertake to make good ; I will not say against you, who seem to know but little of the Matter, but against what you absurdly call the *Demonstrations and Discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton*¹.

You had heard much talk of *Sir Isaac's Demonstrations* in Mathematicks and his great *Discoveries* in Natural Knowledge ; and imagined perhaps that those Words signified nothing more than *Conjecture* or *Opinion*. For had you reflected what a *Demonstration* meant, you could not have applied it to a *System of Chronology*, however probable, or preferable to all others, which from the Nature of Things can never reach Certainty or admit of *Demonstration*. But pray, Sir, after all what is it that *Sir Isaac* has discovered ? has he brought to light any old Authors, which for Ages past had lain buried in Oblivion ; or any Monuments of Antiquity unknown before to the Curious ? Or has he done in the learned, what he did in the natural World ; invented a *new Telescope*, to pry into remote and dark Antiquity with more Accuracy than had been practicable before ? If he has done nothing of this, then *all his Discoveries* can amount only to *Conjecture* ; which, like that of all other Men, will always be fallible and uncertain, as

¹ Reply, p. 44, § 10.

we shall find more especially in the very Instance before us.

In saying this, I am far from any thought of weakening the Authority or lessening the Character of *Sir Isaac* ; I have as great an Honour for him as you have, and look upon him as one of the greatest Philosophers the World has ever produced : But if as in Mathematicks and Philosophy, so in every other Part of Learning, his Authority must needs be advanced above that of all others ; I must take the liberty to dissent from you, and to declare, that for a thorough Knowledge of Antiquity, and the whole compass of *Greek and Egyptian* Learning, there have been, in my Opinion, and now are, many Men as far superior to him, as he within his proper Character is superior to every body else. And I cannot but observe, that it is much the same Case here with the *Authority of Sir Isaac*, as it was above with that of *Moses* ; 'tis not I, but you who weaken it, by forcing and stretching it to a Point whither it can't be extended, to a length it never can reach.

But to come to the Question, of the *Politeness and Learning of the Egyptians in Moses's time* : I had touched it but slightly in my *Letter*, imagining that it must have been taken for granted, or could not at least be called in question by any *Christian* on the single Testimony of *St. Stephen* ; who affirms, *Moses to have been learned in all the Wisdom of the*

*the Egyptians*¹. But I was much surprized to find you treat St. Stephen's Authority so slightly ; by telling us, *that these Words of St. Stephen were not a Proof of any thing but that he spake according to the then received Tradition of the Jews*² ; which is telling us in effect, that they proved just nothing at all, but that himself was misled by the vulgar Errors and popular Prejudices of that Age ; that had he lived to see *Sir Isaac Newton's Demonstrations and Discoveries*, he must have been of another Mind. Strange ! to find so zealous an Advocate of Christianity, in order to get rid of a slight Difficulty, destroying the very Foundation of all Revealed Religion. For is it possible, Sir, that a Person *inspired by God, full of the Holy Ghost*, and speaking under the *actual Influence and Direction of the Divine Spirit*, as St. Stephen here did, could be misled by popular Error or Prejudice to utter any thing false and erroneous ? Such a Concession must needs shake, I say, the very Foundation of *Christianity* itself. For what Impression could its Dictates make, if tho' inspired, they could yet be supposed to be false ? Thus whilst your zeal for senseless Systems transports you to treat me rudely, for moderating only the extravagant Notions of some of our popular Divines, and demolishing such

¹ Act. vii. 22.² Reply, p. 49.

flight Outworks as make the Defence of Religion more difficult ; you betray the very Citadel, and yield up the Fortrefs itself. This is a length and freedom of thinking which, I assure you, I cannot reach ; however you are pleased to calumniate me as a *Favourer of Infidelity* : For tho' I'm far from thinking every Tittle in the *Holy Scriptures* to be inspired ; or that Persons inspired on certain Occasions, must of course be *infallible* on all ; yet I cannot but think it a Point fundamental and necessary to be believed by all Christians, that whilst a Man is under the *actual Influence and Direction of the Holy Ghost*, he must at the same time be *infallible and superior to all Error* ; or else Christianity cannot be defended. In the present Case therefore, from the single Testimony of *St. Stephen, full of the Holy Ghost*, we are as much obliged to believe, that *Learning flourished in Ægypt before Moses's time*, as that Christianity itself is true ; for both must stand or fall together.

And here I have the pleasure to find my Opinion confirmed by *Dr. Waterland* himself, on whose Learning and Judgment you set so high a Value ; who affirms the *Authority of St. Stephen speaking by the Spirit of God*, with regard to any Action or Passage of History, to be sufficient to silence all Cavils to the thing itself, tho' otherwise seemingly wrong and contrary to the reason of things ; as in the Case of *Moses's killing the Ægyptian* : how much

much more decisive then must the same Authority be, when it asserts only a plain matter of Fact, in itself harmless and indifferent ? Why to use the *Doctor's* own Words ; the *Question admits of a short Decision, and is only this ? Whether St. Stephen full of the Holy Ghost, or a Gentleman full of himself and his own Imaginations be most likely to pass a true Judgment on the Case* ¹ ?

To the Testimony of St. Stephen we may add another from the *Old Testament* ; where in celebrating the great Wisdom of Solomon 'tis said, that it *exceeded that of the Ægyptians* ². Now this, whether we are to take it for *inspired*, or as a meer *historical Testimony*, must however convince all who have any regard for Scripture, that *Ægypt was famed for Wisdom before the Age of Solomon* ; but Scripture is nothing with you to *Sir Isaac's Demonstrations* ; who has discovered, it seems, that the *Ægyptians had not so much as the use of Letters* among them till *Solomon's Reign* ³.

With this Account of *Scripture* the whole Stream of *Profane History* entirely agrees ; that the *Ægyptians* of all People in the World had the most ancient Monuments, and most authentick Proofs of their *Learning and Antiquity*.

Herodotus owns, that the *Greeks* borrowed almost every thing from them ; that they were

¹ Script. Vindic. Part 2, p. 5.

² 1 Kings iv. 30.

³ Reply p. 43.

the Inventors of most Arts and Sciences ; *the Division of the Year ; the Immortality of the Soul ; the Names and Worship of the Gods, Altars, Statuary, Sculpture, &c.*¹. That they reckoned a Succession of Kings from *Hercules to Amasis*, for the Space of seventeen thousand Years ; which they pretended to demonstrate by an exact Register and Computation of Time regularly preserved in their sacred Books².

Diodorus Siculus gives much the same Account of their Antiquity and Invention of Arts and Sciences ; and says, that besides their fabulous History, wherein they supposed their Country to have been governed by the Gods, they pretended to a Succession of four hundred and seventy Kings and five Queens Natives of Ægypt, exclusive of the Time they were under the Æthiopians, Persians and Macedonians ; of all which Reigns they had clear and distinct Accounts in their sacred Records, describing particularly every Prince's Person, Character and Length of Reign ; from which Books he himself had made his Extracts³. He says also, what indeed all other Writers confirm, that it was antiently the most populous of all the known Countries of the World ; and had in it above eighteen thousand Cities and considerable Towns. *Pomponius Mela* and *Pliny* affirm it to have had twenty

¹ Herod. l. 2. c. 4, 49, 50, 123, &c.

² Ibid c. 43. Ταῦτα Ἀγύπτιοι ἀρχαίως φασὶ ἐπίστασθαι καὶ τε λογίζεσθαι καὶ εἰς ἀπογραφόμενοι τὰ ἔτη. Ibid. c. 145.

³ Biblioth. Hist. l. 1. p. 41, 42. Edit. Rhodom. It. p. 27. B.

*thousand in the Reign of Amasis, and that it continued to their own Time well stocked with Cities tho' less noble ones*¹.

This Notion of the Greatness, Antiquity and Learning of the *Ægyptians* superior to all other Nations, is fully confirmed and asserted by all the *primitive Writers* both *Jews* and *Christians*.

Philo the learned *Jew*, who himself lived in *Ægypt*, tells us, that *Moses* learnt of his *Ægyptian Masters*, who were sought out for him from all Parts, *Arithmetick*, *Geometry*, *Musick*, and their *Philosophy* expressed by *Symbols*, or *Hieroglyphicks* under the *Figures of Animals*; and *Mathematicks*, which the *Ægyptians* were especially fond of, &c².

Clemens of Alexandria, who lived likewise in *Ægypt*, exactly follows *Philo's* Account, and ascribes to the *Ægyptians* the Invention of the principal Arts and Sciences³.

Eusebius after both affirms the same thing; ascribes to the *Ægyptians* the Invention of Arts and Sciences, declares, that they had the clearest and most undoubted Monuments of their Antiquity, and that the *Greeks* borrowed all in a manner from them⁴.

Josephus is just in the same Story with the rest, and allows them in *Solomon's* Time to

¹ De Situ Orbis. l. 1. c. 9. Hist. Nat. l. 5. c. 9.

² De Vita Mosis lib. 1. p. 605, 606.

³ Strom. l. 1. p.

413, 361. Edit. Potter

⁴ Præparat. Evangel. p. 29,

&c. It. 279, 280. &c. Edit. R. Steph.

have excelled all other Nations in the Fame of their Wisdom¹.

Now if there had been any Prejudice in these *Jewish* and *Christian* Writers, who were all zealous and orthodox in their Religion, it must needs have been like yours on the other side of the Question ; in thinking it a *Diminution to the Authority of Moses*, to imagine that he had borrowed any thing from *Ægypt* ; but the Notoriety of the Fact and the Testimony of all History obliged them to allow and assert the Truth, which can never do Hurt to any Cause that is good.

But 'tis time to examine what Sir *Isaac Newton* has demonstrated and discovered in Opposition to all this Authority. Why, he has observed, that *Ægypt* was so thinly peopled before the Birth of *Moses*, that *Pharaoh* said of the *Israelites*, behold the Children of *Israel* are more and mightier than we : From whence it may at least, you say, be inferred, that the *Jews* were then no less powerful and flourishing a People than the *Ægyptians*². Where you seem to think yourself very modest in not insisting on much more, viz. that the *Israelites* were even more potent and numerous than their Masters the *Ægyptians*. Strange Notion indeed ! Not that I wonder at you, whose Notions seem generally to be taken on trust, but at

¹ Con. Ap. 1. 2, 6. Et. Antiq. Jud. 1. 8. c. 2. § 5.

² Reply, p. 42, 43.

Sir *Isaac* for entertaining it ; being grounded meerly on Mistake or want of Attention to the *lofty and hyperbolical Stile of Scripture* : For by the same Reason he might as well have proved, that the *Jews* were absolutely the most powerful Nation in the World, since none of the *great Monarchies* ever reached the height of those Descriptions we find given of them in the *Sacred Writings* ; where they are oft described to be as numerous as *the Sands of the Sea and the Stars of Heaven*¹, for *Multitude*. And 'tis from the same Sublimity of Expression, that the *seven petty Nations* of the promised Land are said to be *more and mightier* than these very *Israelites* ; and their *Cities impregnable and even fenced up to Heaven*². But to review the Text itself, whence you draw this Inference : *The People of Israel, says Pharaoh, are more and mightier than we* : And what's the Consequence ? Why, a Resolution to *afflict them the more heavily for it*, and to make their Slavery the more rigorous³. A wonderful Proof of *superiour Power and Might*, to suffer themselves to be treated the worse for it by the *fewer and weaker* !

But to examine a little the Possibility of this Notion from the very Account we have of it in *Scripture*. Whilst *Abraham* the *Father of the Jews* was yet childless, *Ægypt* is

¹ Gen. xxii. 17. ² Sam. xvii 11. Heb. xi. 12.

³ Deut. vii. 1. Exod. ix. 1. ³ Exod. i. 9, &c.

represented as a formed and established Monarchy : For we read of *Pharaoh its King*, with *his Princes* or great Courtiers around him¹. About two hundred Years after, at *Jacob's* Descent into *Ægypt*, when the whole Posterity of *Abraham* reached only the Number of *seventy Persons*, we have a more particular Description of the Wealth and flourishing Condition of that Kingdom². And yet in about two hundred Years more, you suppose the *small Family of Jacob* to be grown superior in Power and Numbers to a Kingdom founded so many Ages before ; which all this while had held them in Bondage and Slavery, and employed them in constant Drudgery and hard Labour.

Again, consider the Circumstances of their Flight from *Ægypt*. *Pharaoh* repenting of the Leave he had given them, pursues them with *six hundred chosen Chariots*³ ; and, as *Josephus* adds, *with fifty thousand Horse, and two hundred thousand Foot*⁴. Which yet could only be a small Part of the military Force of *Ægypt* ; as it must have been gathered in haste and marched on so short a warning. With this Force, according to the same *Historian*, he hemmed them in in such a manner between the Mountains and the Water, that they must all have been infallibly cut off,

¹ Gen. xii. 15.² Gen. xlv. &c.³ Exod. xiv. 7⁴ Antiq. Jud. l. 2. c. 15. § 3. &c.

had not a Passage been opened to them of a sudden, either miraculously or accidentally thro' the Red Sea. So that taking the Account from *Scripture* and the *Jews themselves*, there cannot be any ground for a Comparison of the *Power and flourishing Condition* of the two Nations.

This, Sir, is what Sir *Isaac's Discoveries* amount to with regard to the *Strength and Greatness of the Ægyptian Nation*: Let us next see what he has *demonstrated* against the Learning and Wisdom, which I suppose them to have had in *Moses's time*. Why he says, that the *Invention of Letters was ascribed by the Ægyptians to Thoth, Secretary to King Osiris; who was the same Person as Bacchus, as Sesostris, as Sefac or Shisac who plundered the Temple of Jerusalem in the Time of Rehoboam*¹: And consequently that they were so far from having any Learning, that they had not even the *use of Letters* till about *Solomon's Reign*. But how does he prove all this? Why, by meer Conjecture: *Osiris, Bacchus, Sesostris*, says he, *lived about the same time; were all Kings of Ægypt; potent by Land and Sea; all great Conquerors; carried their Conquests as far as India; all left Pillars with Inscriptions, &c. and therefore all three must be the same King, and this King can be no other than Sefac*². And he might as well have said, that they must all

¹ Reply, p. 43. Newt. Chron. p. 210.

² Newt. *ibid.* p. 193.

be the same with *Alexander the Great*, since much the same Actions are attributed also to him.

I shall not trouble myself with examining this Conjecture any further, than as it concerns the *Fact* I am engaged to support, that the *Ægyptians had Arts and Learning amongst them before the time of Sesac or Rehoboam*. And how is it possible to imagine that so great a Kingdom as *Ægypt*, which, as we learn from Scripture, had flourished for about a thousand Years from the time of *Abraham* to *Shisac*, should thro' all that Period want not only the use of *Letters*, but almost all the other Arts and Inventions useful to Life; whilst the *petty State of the Jews* bordering so closely upon them, had all this while the familiar use of them all? *Osiris* according to the Ancients, and his Wife *Isis*, invented the *Culture of the Vine*; *Physick*; *Sowing and Ploughing*, &c¹. Now, if *Sir Isaac's* Conjecture be true, they must have lived without *Medicine, Corn or Wine* till the time of *Shisac* or *Solomon*, whilst yet we know certainly from *Scripture* that they had *Physicians and Plenty of Corn*, near seven hundred Years before in *Joseph's* time².

In the *Book of Job*, which is supposed by many to be older than *Moses* himself, the use of *Letters and Writing* is represented as a

¹ Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 14. It. p. 22. It. Euseb. Præp. Ev. p. 29, &c. ² Gen. l. 2. It. xlii. 1.

thing of long and ancient standing¹. And the *Israelites* themselves at their coming out of *Ægypt*, were not only acquainted with *Letters*, but all the *common Arts* and *Sciences* useful to Life ; which are not yet spoken of as new or lately invented, but referred to as things vulgar and of old familiar to them. *Moses*, we know, wrote down the *Words of the Lord*²; and *Joshua* wrote the *Covenant* he made with the *People* in the *Book of the Law*³: But they had written to little purpose, had not writing been known before, and in common use with the *People*; who were in Possession likewise of all the *other Arts*, as *Building*, *Statuary*, *Sculpture*, cutting and setting of *precious Stones*, working in all sorts of *Metals*, *Embroidery*, *Needlework*⁴. Now, where can we imagine them to have learnt these *Arts*? In fighting their way thro' an *Enemy's Country*; or in the *Wilderness*? That's impossible: Or was *Moses* the *Inventor* of them? That's as impossible as the other⁵: For in the *Hurry* and *unsettled State* they were in, they had neither *Ability* nor *Leisure* to invent or learn any thing: Nor is it credible that the *Scripture*, which so carefully relates every other great *Action of Moses*, could have been silent on such an occasion, and omitted to give him

¹ Job xix. 23. viii. 8. ² Exod. xxiv. 4. ³ Josh. xxiv. 26.

⁴ Exod. xxxvi. &c. ⁵ *Mosem multi frivolis rationibus ducti scribendi auctorem faciunt.* Kirch. Ob. Pam. l. 1. 2.

the Glory of Inventions so useful and necessary to the Life of Man. So that 'tis as evident and certain, as both Reason and History can make it, that *Moses* and the *Children of Israel* came furnished and provided out of *Ægypt* not only with *Letters* and the use of *Writing*, but all the other *Arts and Sciences*.

Besides, it was constantly objected to the *Jews* by their Enemies ; that they were of all Barbarians the most rude and illiterate, and the only People in the World who had never contributed any share to the common Benefit of Mankind, by the Invention of any thing new or useful to Life ¹: This was their Character in the World : And *Josephus* is so far from confusing it, that he owns the Charge ; and excuses it from the Nature and Policy of their Government, which obliged them to such an immutable and inviolable observance of their Laws, that they were restrained and cramped from attempting and striking out any thing new ². But if *Josephus* had dreamt of what Sir *Isaac*, you say, has now discovered, how readily could he have answered, that the Charge was so far from being true, that he could demonstrate the *Jews* to be the very *Authors and Inventors* not only of *Letters and Writing*, but of all o-

¹ Ἀφυστάτας εἶναι τὸ βαρβάρων ; καὶ ἀλλὰ τὸτο μὴδὲν ἐς τὸ βίον εὐρημα συμπεβλήκασι μόνες. *Jos. con. Ap. l. 2. c. 14.*

² Ὅθεν δὴ καὶ τὸ περφερόμενον ἡμῶν ὑπότινον ἔκκλημα, τὸ δὴ μὴ καινῶν ἐρετὰς, &c. *Jos. ibid. c. 20.*

ther *Arts and Sciences* in the World ; and to have had the actual Use and Possession of them for at least five hundred Years before they were known in *Ægypt* : Which tho' contrary to *Scripture* and the Testimony of all *History*, is yet the necessary Consequence of what you call Sir *Isaac's Demonstrations*.

Thus, instead of exposing the *Falshood* of my *Historical Facts*, as you had undertaken in your *Title Page*, you have exposed nothing at last but your own Ignorance both of *Sacred and Profane Antiquity* ; for to those who have any Acquaintance with either 'tis impossible to place the *Origin of Letters and Arts in Ægypt* so low as *Solomon's time*.

But you insult me still further with Sir *Isaac's Discoveries*, and charge me with two Mistakes more, made in open Defiance of them : First, for affirming the *Golden Calf* made by Aaron to be nothing else but the *Ægyptian God Apis*. Whereas Sir *Isaac*, you say, has proved, that *Apis* was no other Person than *Sesostris* or *Shisac* who reigned in the *Days of Solomon*¹. 'Tis strange, that I must not be thought *Orthodox* here, where I have the Concurrence of all the best Writers both *Ancient and Modern* to support my Opinion².

¹ Reply, p. 46.

² Hanc opinionem adstruit Philo, Targum Hierosolymitanum, Lactantius, Hieronymus, Kircherus, Bochartus, & Auctores ab eo citati, quibus accedit Grotius, &c. Spencer de Leg. Heb. l. 1. p. 21.

*Philo tells us, that they turned the Absence of Moses to an Occasion of Impiety, and forgetful of the true God, set themselves to copy the silly Fictions of Ægypt, and having made a Golden Calf after the Pattern of an Animal esteemed the most sacred in that Country, they offered impious Sacrifices, accompanied with abominable dancing and singing*¹. Which, as all Men of Learning observe, are the very Instances of the Worship paid to the God *Apis*.² *Monsieur Rollin, in his short History of the Ancient Ægyptians, says, that the Golden Calf set up by the Israelites was the effect of their Abode in Ægypt and an Imitation of their God Apis, as well as those which were afterwards set up by Jeroboam.*³ And a Protestant Author quoted above, who never allows any thing that an orthodox Man can possibly deny, yet owns, that it was in Imitation of the Ægyptian *Apis*, that the Golden Calf was made in the Wilderness⁴.

But should we admit, you say, that the Ægyptian *Apis* was worshipped as early, as I represent it, yet there are no grounds from Scripture Story

¹ Philo de Vita Mos. p. 677. ² Probatione id non indiget; cum & ritus in confando vitulo adhibiti, tripudia, convivia chori, &c. id satis superque demonstrent — Kircher. Oedip. Ægypt. T. 1. p. 300. It. Spenc. ib. ³ See Ancient Hist. of the Ægypt. done into Engl. p. 42. ⁴ Itaque credibile est jam antiquitus tempore Israelitarum fuisse Idolum, ejus imitamine vitulum in deserto fecerunt — Leidek. de Rep. Hebr. p. 150.

*to conclude, that the Golden Calf in the Wilderness had any Reference to that Worship: Or that the God or Gods which the Jews intended to worship under that Image, were any Ægyptian Gods*¹. Now this shews the little Acquaintance you have with Scripture, as well as the little Attention you pay to Reason and the Sense of Things: The *Israelites* had no sooner got clear of the *Ægyptians*, than they fell to the making and worshipping of *Idols*: The Question is, what *sort of Idols* it was, that they were so fond of worshipping: And does not Sense and Reason and even Necessity teach us, that they could be no other, than what they had been so long acquainted with, and worshipping for about two hundred Years before? For the learned *Spencer* has shewn, that during their Abode in *Ægypt*, they complied with *all the Customs and Idolatry of the Country*². But *there's no ground, you say, from Scripture Story to make this Conclusion*: This is still stranger, that one who undertakes to defend *Scripture* with such Gravity, should betray so great an Ignorance of *Scripture Story*: For nothing is more clear and certain or more frequently inculcated in *Scripture Story*, than that the *Idolatry*, by which they so oft provoked God to punish them, and their Leaders and Prophets to reproach them, was

¹ Reply, p. 47.

² De Leg. Hebr. l. Sect. 1. p. 20.

such as *their Fathers had learnt and practised in Ægypt*. To give an Instance or two out of many.

Joshua a little before his Death very pathetically exhorts them, *to put away the Gods, which their Fathers served on the other side of the Flood and in Ægypt*¹. And when they were in Possession of the promised Land, the same Inclination to the *Idols of Ægypt* still continued, as we find by the Reproofs of all the *Prophets*, on this very Account. *Then said I unto them, cast ye away every Man the Abominations of his Eyes, and defile not your selves with the Idols of Ægypt. But they rebelled against me—neither did they forsake the Idols of Ægypt*². All which is confirmed again by the Testimony of *St. Stephen*, if that have any weight with you, who mentions this very Case of the *Golden Calf*, as an Example and Proof of *their turning back again in their Hearts into Ægypt*³.

The *second Mistake* you urge me with on this Head, is for asserting *Kircher* to have shewn, that *Hieroglyphicks* or the sacred Characters of *Ægypt* were invented and used before *Moses's Time*. But *Sir Isaac*, you say, has shewn the contrary; that *Both the reputed Inventor of those Hieroglyphicks was Contemporary with Se-*

¹ Josh. xxiv. 14.

² Ezek. xix. 7, 8.

³ Act. vii. 39.

*sostris or Shisac who plundered the Temple of Jerusalem in the Reign of Rehoboam : And that Moses therefore could not borrow, as I intimate, the Hieroglyphick of the Serpent from the Ægyptians*¹. And here the Reader will observe another remarkable Instance of what I have more than once mentioned, viz. your rash and partial way of forming your Notions from *Scraps and separate Quotations*, without considering with any Care the very Authors you most admire. For tho' Sir Isaac asserts *Thoth*, who lived according to his Account in the time of Solomon, to have been *the Inventor of common Letters and Writing*², yet he is so far from ascribing to him the Invention of *Hieroglyphicks*, that he declares in expresse terms, that *the Hieroglyphical way of writing seems to have spread into lower Ægypt before the Days of Moses, and that some Reference is made to it in the second Commandment, which prohibits the worshipping of God under the Shape of Birds, Beasts and Fishes*³.

I shall conclude this Article with a Passage from Dr. *Spencer*, who has examined this Question with more Diligence, and treated it with more Learning and Judgment than any Man. *The mystical way of Writing in use with the Ægyptians bears much Resemblance, says he, to that of the Hebrews.* This

¹ Reply, p. 48. ² Newt. Chron. p. 210.

Ibid. p. 225.

he confirms by the Authority of *Franciscus Valeſius*, and *Clemens of Alexandria*, and then ſubjoins the following Remark. *Whence comes it then, that this Ænigmatical Stile of the Ægyptians and the Hebrews is found ſo exactly alike; but that God had ſo contrived his Law and its ſacred Rites, that they might ſuit, as far as was poſſible, the Taſte and Uſage of that Age? For no Man who has any good Judgment can think, that the Ægyptians were in this Caſe the Diſciples and Followers of the Jews; ſince 'tis allowed on all hands, that the Hieroglyphical Literature was ancients than Moſes, and that the Ægyptians long before his Time uſed to cover their ſacred Doctrines under the Veil of Symbols and Myſtical Figures¹.*

And thus, Sir, after all Sir *Iſaac's Demonſtrations*, and your Deſcant upon them, I ſhall once more venture to affirm *that Ægypt was in Moſes's Time a great and flouriſhing Kingdom, a learned and polite Nation.*

The laſt *Hiſtorical Faſt*, you take notice of, *advanced, as you ſay², againſt the Truth, is the Confuſion of Languages at Babel.* But how is this a Faſt of my advancing? I have indeed made an Obſervation or two on the common way of explaining it; and 'tis this you conteſt with me, contrary to your own Declaration;

¹ De Legib. Heb. L. 1. c. 15. p. 211, 212. ² Rep. p. 51.

not the *Fact* itself, but *my Reasoning* about it. Which shews, as I've already hinted, the low Shifts you are put to, to blow up the Envy and Clamour you would raise against me.

And here I must again put the Reader in mind, that I am far from forming, as you call it, any *peremptory Judgment against the Mosaic Story of Babel*¹. All that I attempted in *my Letter* was to shew the Rashness and Imprudence of Dr. *Waterland's* way of defending it, in denying all *manner of probability or colour of Reason* to any Objections that could be made to it : And as I have proved against the *Doctor* and yourself, that the *dispersion of Mankind and peopling of the World* must of course be the certain and necessary effect of an *encreasing Multitude*, flowing from the Reason and Nature of Things, exclusive of any *Miracle or the extraordinary Interposition of God* ; so what I pretend to shew now, is, that the *Variety of Languages* may with *some colour of Reason and Probability* be accounted for too in the same way, as the natural and necessary Consequence of such Dispersion.

Let's consider Mankind in its infant State, as yet but one Family, tho' daily growing and encreasing so fast, as to be forced in Proportion to that Encrease to break off and separate from each other into several Parties or Colo-

¹ Rep. p. 52.

nies in quest of fresh Quarters and Provisions. That this must needs be the case of such a Multitude has already been shewn from the Nature of Things ; and 'twas from the same Necessity of Nature, that the *Nations of the Earth were divided or peopled*, as the *Scripture* says, *by the Sons of Noah* ¹.

Now as this Dispersion must have happened, whilst Mankind was yet rude and barbarous, unacquainted with Arts and Sciences, and even the common Inventions and Conveniencies of Life ; so the Production of such Arts, the Improvement of Knowledge and Science, and the new Demands of Life daily arising must necessarily produce a *new Language* in each single Nation or separate People, unknown in a great measure to the rest of their Fellow Creatures. For as Names are generally but arbitrary Signs, not drawn from the Nature or Qualities of the Things themselves, but formed by Fancy or Accident and confirmed by Use ; so every thing new must necessarily create not only a new Name, but a different one too from what the same thing, when invented would obtain in a different People.

And thus a Difference of Languages being once established, the Mixture and Composition of several of them together, which follows of course from Conquests and the familiar

² Gen. x. 32.

Intercourse of different Nations, is another inexhaustible Source and Cause of multiplying that same Variety ; just as the various changing and mixing the different Sounds of Bells produce an infinite Variation and Distinction of their Musick.

This short Hint of the *Origin of Languages* may suffice to shew the Folly of your asserting it to be *impossible, that there could have been such a Variety of them in the World, unless from some such Confusion as happened at Babel*¹. The reason you alledge for that *Impossibility* is trifling, without any Foundation in Fact or Truth : For you say, that if no such Miracle had happened, the *things which are of most common use in Life, and which all Men are every Day speaking of, could never have come in different Languages to be expressed by Words, which have not the least Affinity with one another*. But do not we see the same thing to have actually happened in all the modern Languages of the World, that are as it were but of Yesterday's rise and standing ; that by mixing and blending the Sounds of concurring Nations *new Names* have been formed for the *most necessary Things of Life*, as well as the most obvious Parts of the Body ?

One Part of *Italy* anciently called the *Mouth, Stoma* ; the other Part, *Os* : now all call it *Bocca* ; in French *Bouche*.

¹ Reply, p. 52.

One Part called the *Eye*, *Optkalmus* ; the other *Oculus* : all now call it *Occhio* ; in French *Oeil*.

One Part called the *Ear*, *Ouar* ; the other *Auris* : all now *Orecchio* ; in French *Oreille*, &c.

Now the grand Question you ask is, what could tempt Men to create new Words, where they had old ones before, especially in things of common use, whose Names were every Day in every Man's Mouth ? The Answer is very easy : It was the natural and necessary Mutability of all human Things, that forced them by degrees to change their *old Words* for the more prevailing Sounds of such People, as had then got the Superiority or principal Rule in the Country ; an Effect that will always follow the same Cause : And should *Italy* or *France* be again conquered by *Barbarians*, *Tartars*, *Turks*, &c. a *new Language* would necessarily arise from such an Event ; and *new Names* for the most common Things of Life, neither *Barbarian* nor *Italian*, but a Jumble and Mixture of both.

And thus, Sir, I have gone thro' all your Cavils to my *Letter*, without finding the least Proof or Overt-act of the *Infidelity* you charge me with, besides my daring to differ from *Dr. Waterland* and yourself about the Mode of explaining some Circumstances of the *Mosaic History*.

History. One great Part of the *Letter* you make so free with is employed in Defence of the *Christian Religion* against *Infidelity* ; on such a Plan as I then thought and still think the most effectual to confute the Author I had to do with, and expose the Vanity of those Principles by which he hopes to overturn Christianity : And as *our Saviour himself*, when charged absurdly with the *casting out of Devils by the Power of the Devil*, shews the Folly of that Calumny by one plain Observation, that *a House divided against it self cannot stand* ; so 'tis silly and absurd to imagine, that I should take such pains to destroy the Credit of a Writer, who deserves so well of *Infidels*, had I been of the Number myself, or inclined to list into that Service. But I am so far from favouring *Infidelity*, that I should be heartily glad to see an Answer to *Christianity as Old, &c.* on a better Plan and Foundation than what I have proposed : But as I am very certain, that this has not yet been done by *Dr. Waterland* ; so I am as sure, by the Specimen you have given us, that it can never be done by yourself.

As I am a Stranger to your Name and Character, and have no other Light to form a Judgment of you by, but the Merit of the Piece I have been examining ; so your injurious and insolent manner of treating me in that Piece, as an *Infidel and Enemy to Christi-*

Christianity ; a wilful Depraver of Facts and Quotations, will fully justify any Freedom or Severity of Expression I may have used in this necessary Defence of myself ; in which however if I have done you any Injustice, I shall always be ready, upon better Information and Acquaintance with you, to make you all the Amends and Satisfaction, that can be required from one, who in this as well as every other Controversy, he may be engaged in, professes to have no other Motive, View or Intention whatsoever, than to search freely and impartially for the Truth.

F I N I S.

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D E F E N C E
OF THE
L E T T E R
TO
Dr. *WATERLAND.*

By the *Author* of the REPLY to the LETTER.

—quantò ille magis formas se vertit in omnes,
Tantò, nate, magis contende tenacia vincla.

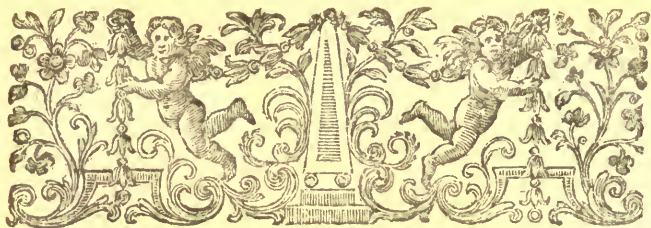
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S I R,



T last, after the Space of near twelve Months, the *Defence* of your Letter to Dr. *Waterland* has appear'd in Print: But I make no Exceptions to the length of Time which you took, since I must own, that a much longer Time would have past before I could have prevailed with my self to publish *such* a Defence.

The Reply, which I formerly made to your Letter, charged it with containing *many Falsehoods both in the Quotations and Historical Facts, by which you endeavoured to weaken the Authority of Moses.* To prove this Charge I produced fifteen Quotations and two Historical Facts as falsely reported by you: To each of these you have answered distinctly, denying the Accusation to be well grounded in any Instance, except one, to which you have pleaded Guilty. But I insist, Sir, upon it, that there is nothing rashly advanced against you in my Reply to your Letter; and if in the following Sheets I do not clearly shew, that, notwithstanding all

the Skill of your Defence, every single Instance of Falschhood charged upon you is made good; if I do not shew that the new Quotations, which you have produced in the course of your *Defence*, are commonly of the same Stamp with the former; if I do not shew that you generally misrepresent the very Words of my *Reply*, and then form an Answer to what I never said or intended, I am content to pass for as low a Creature in Learning and Reasoning, as you (in Aid of your Arguments) have all along endeavoured to represent me.

Whether the Cause, which you alledge for your using me with such *Severity of Expression*, be a well-grounded one, I must leave to the Reader; all that I shall say upon the matter is, that you have mistaken my Meaning Here as elsewhere, and have acted in Repentment of only a fancied Injury: But I intend to make no Return, except of Reason and Argument; having seen too plain Proof in You, that Men writing in the extreme Heat of Anger, like Men working in the extreme Heat of the Sun, spend themselves rather than dispatch Business.

What I had chiefly in view when I wrote my Reply, was the vindicating the *Authority of Moses*; and it is a Point of such Importance to Christianity that it will excuse my troubling the World with another Reply: It seemed to me to be attack'd in your Letter, and I have more Reason from reading your Defence to think that my Opinion was well grounded. In my first Reply I chiefly endeavoured to shew, that many of the Quotations and Facts, which you had alledged for that purpose, were
 fe

so far from proving your Point, so far from being fairly argued from, that they were not so much as fairly represented. This was my Business then; but since your Defence goes farther, and explains your Sentiments upon some Points of Importance more fully, I am willing to examine at large what you offer upon these two Questions, *Whether Moses's Account of the Creation and Fall of Man 'is to be understood literally or not; and Whether the Religion and Laws, which he delivered to the Jews, had a Divine Origin and Authority.* This, Sir, will be the main Business of the following Sheets; but I think it necessary first to make good the Charge which I brought against you for false Quotations, and let the Reader be better acquainted with you, before he hears you farther quoting and reasoning on those important Points of Inquiry.

The general Method, which you have taken with my Objections in your Defence, is very extraordinary: One while you represent me as translating the Passages in Dispute too verbally, whereas your Happiness is to *catch the true Sentiments of the Author.* And this Charge I am content to acknowledge very readily: The very same Words, which you bring as a Proof of what you assert, I examine and shew to be no Proof: Is it any proper Answer after that to tell me, that you do not stand upon Grammatical Niceties, but express the Sense and Spirit of the Author? Is not this, to change the fixed and visible Mark for a wide and uncertain one, where the Reader's Eye may easily lose it self? At other times, when you are charged with false Quotations,

you

you raise a mighty Outcry against *Prejudices* and *Systems*, against *stiff* and *dogmatical Divines*, and represent me as one that would hinder all *free* Inquiries after Truth; a Complaint which you have just as much Right to make, as the Man, who is taken up for paying away counterfeit Money, has to complain that such Usage tends to disturb the *Freedom* of Trade and Commerce.

By way of Prelude to the Vindication of your Quotations, (a) you make three flight Objections to as many Particulars in the Introduction to my Reply. They are so flight, that I am content to let the first and the third of them pass without Answer, tho' you take Occasion from thence to charge me with Insincerity: To the second, which seems most material, I would offer a few Words that the Reader may see how you set out, and what a Defence he is likely to expect from you. I had said that in your Letter you had *hardly made one Original Quotation of an Author in his true Sense, &c.* to this you reply, that *out of about eighty Quotations I pretend to criticize but fifteen.* Is not this, Sir, just in the Spirit of your Letter? Is not this Misrepresentation again? Don't I plainly speak of *Original Quotations*, and don't you speak of *Quotations in general*? There may be eighty of that Sort in your short Letter: I so little liked what I had examined, that I had no great Desire to look into more of them. But the Truth is (as my Title Page set forth) that I meant to dispute with you no

(a) *Def. Pag. 6, 7.*

Quotations, but such as tended to *weaken the Authority of Moses*; and even of those, I concern'd my self with none but such as were *Original* ones: What you took at second hand from other Authors I never meant to charge you with: If they are false, I knew that those Authors were chiefly answerable for the Falschood of them. Deduct from the Number of eighty such as are not *Original* Quotations, with such as no ways affect the Authority of *Moses*, and I will undertake still to prove that in your Letter you have hardly made one *Original* Quotation of an Author in his true Sense.

But I come to the Particulars of my Charge, and your Defence of them.

I. II.

I had objected to you that in quoting two Passages out of *Cicero de Nat. Deor.* l. 3. c. 31, 38. you had falsely urged them as containing *Cicero's* Sentiment, since the Speaker there is *Cotta*, and *Cicero*, who was present at the Disputation concludes at breaking it up, that the Argument, which *Balbus* held against *Cotta*, seemed to him the more probable of the two; and even *Cotta* himself, after all, confesses that what he had said was not his real Opinion but for Argument's sake, and that he certainly knew that *Balbus* could confute him. This was the Substance of my Objection to your two Quotations; and now, what is it that you say in your Defence? Why (a) first you tell us that *Cicero* being an *Academic* as well as *Cotta*, if there be any thing in that

(a) Def. Pag. 9.

whole Dialogue which can be called Cicero's own more peculiarly and properly than the rest, it is the very Part and Character assign'd to Cotta. But unde petitum hoc in me jaci? Is not this Weapon borrowed from the Author of the *Discourse on Free-thinking*, who formerly received such Instruction and Chastisement on this very Article from *Phileleutherus Lipsiensis*, that I never expected to meet any one for the future so venturesome as to assert that Cicero's true Sentiments are to be found under the Character of his Academic Speakers. You allow me to be but little acquainted with Cicero's Dialogues, I choose therefore to refer you for farther Information in this Point to that learned Writer, Part II. p. 78. Cicero's true Sentiments are to be found in his Offices, in his *Tusculan Disputations* and other Pieces of his, where he dogmatizes and delivers his Opinions of things; but not in his *Dialogues*, unless (as in the Case before us) when, the Dispute being ended, he declares on one side of the Question: And since he has done this, will you pretend, Sir, to argue from his being an *Academic*, that he must have held the very reverse of those Sentiments, in Favour of which he so openly pronounces?

What you add, looks as if it was drawn out of the same Quiver with the other; for you (a) tell us that Cicero in his second Book de *Divin.* where he disputes in his own Person, takes the same side and uses the same Arguments which he had put here into the Mouth of Cotta, to confute the Opinion of the Stoics about Religion and Divination. How are we to understand you here?

(a) Def. Pag. 9.

Not surely as if it was *Cotta* in the third Book of the *Nature of the Gods*, that endeavour'd to confute the Opinion of the Stoics about Religion and Divination, since *Cicero* himself giving a Reason for his writing the two Books of Divination, (a) says that he had omitted that Point in his three Books of the *Nature of the Gods*. You must mean therefore (as the turn of the Sentence seems to require) that *Cicero* in his second Book of Divination argues against Religion as well as Divination. This is implied in what you said before of his taking the same side and using the same Arguments here, which *Cotta* did there; for *Cotta* plainly disputed there against Religion, and you would insinuate that *Cicero* did so in this Book: But that this is directly false, will appear from *Cicero's* own Words there: When he had been disputing against Divination or the Art of conjecturing about things future, to prevent all Mistakes about this matter (though it seems he could not do it) and to shew that he had not been disputing against Religion, he puts in his Caveat to this Effect in the last Chapter: (b) *I am very careful to have this understood aright, that to take away Superstition is not to take away Religion: For a wise Man will be for preserving all the sacred Rites and Ceremonies established by our Ancestors; and the Frame of the Universe obliges us to own that there is an eternal Being of great Ex-*

(a) Quod pratermissum est in illis libris, credo, quia commodius arbitratus es separatim id quari, deque eo differi, id est, de Divinatione, &c. de Divin. lib. 1. cap. 5.

(b) Nec verò (id enim diligenter intelligi volo) superstitione sublata religio tollenda, &c.

cellency, &c. *Wherefore as Religion, which has a close Union with the Knowledge of Nature, ought to be propagated; so Superstition, &c. What is Misrepresentation if this be not?*

The better to reconcile what you have hitherto said of *Cicero's* Sentiments with his express Declaration to the contrary; you have in p 10. changed *Cicero's* Words, *the more probable* instead of *somewhat the more probable*; this sounds softer, and prepares the Reader to admit of your farther Answer to my Objection, which is, that when *Cicero* pronounces in favour of the *Stoic's* Opinion, it may well be look'd upon as a Compliment to *Brutus*, to whom the Book is address'd, and who was himself a *Stoic*: In support of this fancied Compliment you discover *Cicero* elsewhere, as allowing the Philosophy which *Brutus* followed, to be the best, *De Fin.* 1. 3. c. 2. Strange that you should represent *Cicero* as complimenting with such Insincerity! For if according to you, *Cotta's* side of the Question contained *Cicero's* real Sentiments, it must be something more than a Compliment in him, to tell *Brutus* that he thought the *Stoic's* side was *the more probable of the two*. The Truth of the Case is this; that an *Academic* in virtue of his Claim of never pronouncing any thing as Certain, but Probable only, confined himself within no Bounds, but hunted in the Fields of every other Philosophy: What he found among the *Peripatetics* to his liking he took at his Pleasure; and the same Liberty he claim'd among the *Stoics* and others. *Cicero* particularly is observed to have made many of the *Stoics* Notions his own; in his *Offices* he follows them and in his

his *Paradoxes*; and why might he not by the same Rule follow them in their Sentiments about the *Nature of the Gods*? Nay, why might he not call theirs the *best kind* of Philosophy? It was not inconsistent with his being an *Academic*; for the *Academics* had no peculiar and distinguishing Notions about these things; their Badge was to pronounce nothing *certain*, and while they kept to that, they were at liberty to prefer one Philosophy before another.

Thus far you and I have debated about *Cicero's* Opinion: But I had gone farther in my Reply and produced *Cotta* himself declaring after all, that what he had said was for Argument's sake only, and not even his real Opinion. This you call a betraying of my Ignorance: How? Why, because *Cotta* was an *Academic*, and (a) therefore, tho' agreeably to the Principles of his Sect, he might wish to be confuted, i. e. to have some greater Degree of Probability offered to him than what he had before acquiesced in; yet must he be suppos'd in the mean while to approve the Sentiments he had been asserting, as the most probable. How the face of things may be changed! Tho' he might wish (say you) to be confuted; but *Cotta* says more than this in those Words of his, *facile me à te vinci posse, certò scio*. You add that he must have approved the Sentiments he had been asserting, as the most probable; but how is this consistent with the Declaration of his knowing for a certain that *Balbus* could confute him? and how is it consistent with what you said

(a) Def. Pag. 10.

before concerning *Cicero*, that his true Sentiments are to be found in the Part assign'd to *Cotta*; for then (in your way of reasoning) *Cicero's* approving of *Balbus's* side in the Question as the *more probable*, and *Cotta's* approving of his own side as the *most probable*, are the same thing. Too great a Contradiction to be father'd upon so judicious a Writer as *Cicero*.

III.

Your Letter represented *Cicero* as saying, that *it is the common Opinion of all Philosophers, that the Deity can neither be angry nor hurt any body*. To this I replied that *Cicero* puts these Words into the Mouth of an Objector, and that therefore they are falsely quoted for *Cicero's* Sentiments. This you cannot deny, and yet you care not to own. To make a Shew of answering me, you ask (a) *Whether a Faët is less true for being proposed as an Objection?* The *Faët* may not be less true for that, but it is certainly less true that these Words contain *Cicero's* real Opinion: But you add, *'tis put, it seems, in Cicero as an Objection, and 'tis put just so in my Letter*. Can you be serious, Sir, in meaning that we should take this for a Defence of your Quotation? Was not the Design of your quoting this and other Passages from *Cicero*, expressly pronounced in your *Letter*, p. 18. to be that we might know what were his *Sentiments declared in some Cases*, that from

thence we might be *inform'd what unprejudiced Reason would determine upon the literal History of Man's Fall?* Have You forgot, or would you have us forget that you appeal to the Authority of *Cicero*? And would you now try to lay the same Weight upon the Authority, not of *Cicero*, but of an Objector whom he mentions, and afterwards replies to? The Passage stands indeed in your Letter as an Objection to Dr. *W.* but is not mentioned as an Objection in *Cicero* from whom you take it; and it is the Want of that which makes it a false Quotation, such as will ever be an Objection to your Letter.

There are some other slight Cavils, which you raise against my Reply upon this Article; but I am content to leave them to the Reader, who (it is hoped) will compare my Words with your Representation of them.

IV.

I objected to a Passage which you had produced from *Cicero de Divin.* l. 2. c. 68. about a Serpent's appearing to *Alexander* in a Dream and speaking to him. You had said that *Cicero* laughed at the Story; and from thence you concluded that he would have *laughed much more at the literal Story in Genesis, of a Serpent actually speaking and reasoning.* To this I replied, that *Cicero* does not appear to have laughed at that Story of *Alexander's* Serpent; nay, he was so far from doing so, that he did not actually disbelieve the Story; he says, *it may be true that Alexander dreamed so.* Now
you

you tell me (a) that what *Cicero* ridiculed, was not so much the Extravagance of a Dream, as the pretended miraculous Effect of it, and the foolish Credulity of those who look on such Dreams as sent from God. Is not this altering the Question? is all this included in your saying that he laughed at the Story? Have you a word in your Letter about any Effects of the Dream? And is such an Addition consistent with your Application of this Story to that of *Moses*? By no means; but, it seems, this is one way of avoiding the Charge of a false Quotation: If this will not do, you insist upon it withal, that *Cicero* laughs too at the Fancy of a Serpent's speaking, &c. But I insist upon it in my turn that he does not, and I give this Reason for it, he says, *potest esse verum, it may be true*; whereas you insist upon it without assigning a Reason, and come under the Description which *Cicero* gives of some in his Days, *Urgent rusticè sanè; negant enim posse, & in eo perstant.* De Offic. l. 3. c. 9.

By the way permit me to give the Reader one Instance how happily you have chang'd my Words, in order to make me the Subject of some of your ingenious Railery. I had said that, notwithstanding what *Cicero* speaks in the Passage under Consideration, he might have believed the literal Story of *Moses's* Serpent. But here you shew your Dexterity at quoting again, and represent me, p. 12. as saying, that he must needs have believed it. Are these two Expressions the same? Let us try it

(a) Def. Pag. 12.

upon your self: If instead of saying that you *might* have known this to be a false Citation, I should say that you *must needs* have known it to be so; would not you look upon me, Sir, as doing you a great piece of Injustice?

V.

The next Quotation which I examin'd was what you drew from *Josephus* against *Apion*, l. 2. c. 13. where to strengthen your Suspicion that *Circumcision* was derived to the *Jews* from the *Egyptians*, you represent him as saying, that the *Egyptians are all Circumcised*; in Answer to this I shew'd from the express Words of that Passage, that only *the Priests of Egypt* are there said to be *ALL of them circumcised*. What is it that you do on this Occasion? Why, you grew warm, and with many angry Reproaches you represent me as a *Pretender to Learning*, as a *Dealer in Scraps and marginal Citations*, as *fighting in the Dark, beating the Air, bruising my Knuckles against Posts*, and you threaten to shew all this before you have done with me. But it is certainly no good Sign, when a Writer flies out into a Passion, especially so early in the Controversy. Your Behaviour puts me in mind of a Story which Mr. *Locke* us'd to tell. A Friend of his at *Utrecht* having been present at a Thesis publickly maintain'd there in *Latin*, and telling Mr. *Locke* where he had been that Morning, Mr. *Locke* ask'd him, what He could learn there, when he did not understand one Word of *Latin*; *Enough* (says the Gentleman) *to know how Matters went*; and I plainly saw that the
Professor

Professor had the worst of it, because he began very soon to be angry.

But to our purpose; what is it that you reply to the Charge of falsely quoting? Do you deny it? No: Do you own it? No: All that you say on this head is, that *Josephus* MAY be understood of a peculiar Obligation or absolute Necessity, which the Priests were under to be circumcised above all other Men. p. 22. but before he may be understood thus, some material Words must be added to the Sentence, which are now wanting; and this would in effect again amount to a false Quotation.

The Substance of your Defence on this Article, is to draw your Reader off from the Charge brought against you, by endeavouring to make out three things, *That the Egyptian People in general were circumcised; That Josephus understood Herodotus in that very Sense; and that Circumcision was used for the sake of outward Cleanliness.* Now suppose you could prove these three Points clearly, would the Charge of falsely quoting *Josephus's* Words be thereby avoided? Not in the least: But dropping the proper Question, you chose rather to dazzle your Readers with a Shew of Learning.

As to the first of these Points, whether the *Egyptians* in general were circumcised, it is no very material Inquiry; I shall leave it therefore in your hands or rather in *Calmet's*, from whom you borrow'd what you offer in the Affirmative, and from whom you might have borrow'd more for the Negative side of the Question.

Nor is the third Point of much Importance, whether the *Egyptians* circumcised for *Cleanliness* as you interpret *Herodotus's* Word, or for *Purity* as I thought it signified. Yet so much may be said on this Occasion, that what you call a *Blunder* of mine, is what you fall into your self, even while you are reproaching me with it; for you suppose *Circumcision* among the *Egyptians* to have been considered as a religious Test, p. 22; which Supposition (if not the very same with mine, yet) comes much nearer to my Notion of *Purity* than to Yours of *Cleanliness* being intended by it. But it is of some Importance to me, that you represent me, p. 24. as saying that *Circumcision* was given to the *Jews* for the sake of *Purity*; when I only intimated that they thought it a Mark and Emblem of *Purity*, reckoning all uncircumcised Men to be impure and unclean, p. 16. This Notion the *Jews* certainly had, and it was not inconsistent with their receiving *Circumcision* as a Sign and Seal of a Covenant between God and his People; just as Baptism among Christians is a Sign and Seal of a new Covenant, and yet is at the same time an Emblem of the *Purity*, which those ought to have, who enter into that Covenant. What Occasion was there then to charge me on this head, as being little acquainted with Scriptural and Jewish History? Why was your Reader called upon to make a proper Reflection, and invited to take a share of your Prejudice, that your Defence might be Read with the same Spirit with which it was Written?

But to the second of those Points I have something more material to object. Your As-

sertion is this; *Josephus understood Herodotus to mean that the Egyptians in general were circumcised.* But all that *Josephus* in this Passage ascribes to *Herodotus*, is the saying that the *Egyptians taught other People the use of Circumcision.* And how does this prove that the *Egyptians* in general were circumcised? Is not the Sentence equally true, if their Priests only were circumcised? How then can this shew, that *Josephus* understood the Words in your Sense of them? *Josephus* quotes *Herodotus*, only upon the Article of the *Egyptians having taught other People to be circumcised*; not for any Testimony of His, that he wanted about the *Egyptians* using *Circumcision*: That Point he knew as well as his Author, having been (a) in *Egypt* himself; and having seen what was practised there. And that the *Egyptians* in general were not circumcised, may be strongly inferr'd from the very next Passage to that, from whence you draw the contrary Opinion, and impute it to *Josephus*; for there when he is giving an Account of the Death of *Apion*, who was (b) a true and original *Egyptian*, he says that at last (c) he was forced to be circumcised upon account of a Distemper which he had, and of which he died: So that *Apion* was not circumcised before, nor would have been so then, if Necessity had not compelled him. This may suffice to shew both that the *Egyptians* in general did not practise this Rite, and that *Josephus* knew very well they did not. I shall

(a) *Contra Apion.* l. 1. c. 9.

(b) *Ib.* l. 2. c. 3.

(c) *Ib.* l. 2. c. 3. περιτμήθη δὲ ἕκ ἀνάγκης, &c.

only add, that *Josephus* represents Circumcision as given to *Abraham*, that his *Posterity* might not be mix'd with other Nations. *Antiqu.* l. 1. c. 10.

We may see that you have as ill Luck as ever at Quotations by what you have added on this Occasion, p. 22. *Where Josephus* (say you) *appeals to Herodotus for affirming the Egyptians to be Authors of Circumcision to all other People and even to the Jews, he makes no other Reflexion upon it, than that, of such things every one may say what he thinks fit.*

This, Sir, I shall shew to be a most false Representation of the Matter: You refer to *Josephus's Antiq.* l. 8. c. 10. *Seet.* 3. where the Case is this. That Historian having given an Account of *Shishac's* over-running *Judea* in *Rehoboam's* Reign, and plundering the City and Temple of *Jerusalem*, says that *Herodotus* mentions this Event in his History; for he speaks (says he) of an *Egyptian King* as *having subdued Syria Palestina.* And to shew that *Herodotus* meant *Judea* by that Name, *Josephus* quotes another Passage of the same Author, where he says that the *Syrians in Palestine* confess they had learned Circumcision from the *Egyptians*: This proves the Point (says *Josephus*) because no other *Syrians in Palestine* are circumcised but the *Jews*: And then he adds, *but of such things every one may say, what he thinks fit: i.e.* not about the Question, Whether the *Jews* learned Circumcision from the *Egyptians*; but about this Question, Whether that Passage in *Herodotus* confirmed the Scriptural Account of *Shishac's* over-running *Judea* and plundering the City and Temple of *Jerusalem.* Here then

is another Instance of gross Misrepresentation, even while you are endeavouring to clear your self from the Charge of it: How hard it is to get rid of a bad Habit!

VI.

The next Point in Dispute between us was the Sense of *Josephus* in that Passage against *Apion*, where he is speaking of *Moses* and the other ancient Lawgivers: But this, by the Inference which you have drawn from it, being made a Point of very great Importance, I shall refer what I have to say on that Article to the latter end of this Reply, where it will meet with a distinct and full Examination.

VII.

To prove that *many Customs and Constitutions in the Jewish Law were evidently deriv'd from the Egyptian Source*, you bring (p. 46.) a Passage from *Herodotus* to this purpose, that the *Egyptians are governed by Laws and Customs peculiar to themselves, and different from those of other Nations*. Here I reminded you that *Herodotus* says (a) *from those of ALL other Nations*; I saw that this Quotation of yours was brought to shew how in *Fact* many Customs of the Jewish Law were borrowed from the *Egyptians*, and therefore I argued that the Word *ALL*, which you left out, was a material Word, because it inferr'd that the *Jews* had no Customs or Laws resembling *Theirs*. But now you tell me, that you only meant to draw this Inference, That *as the Egyptians affected a Peculiar*

(a) l. 2. c. 91.

liarity in their Laws, so did the Jews in Theirs; and this Humour you suppose was derived from Egypt: Whatever you meant, it is plain that your Point was to prove many Customs and Constitutions of the Jewish Law, not the Turn or Genius only of the whole Law, to have been borrowed from the Egyptians. But you say farther, that your Argument previously supposes some Resemblance of Customs between the Jews and Egyptians grounded on the long Residence of the Jews in Egypt, p. 47. and when you are got a few Pages farther, you say, p. 53. that it is endless to run through all the Jewish Customs which learned Men have deduced from Egypt; among which you reckon the Tabernacle, Ark, Cherubims, Altar, Sacrifices, Sabbath, &c. Pray, Sir, how is this to be reconciled with that Inference of yours before mentioned? If both those Nations affected a Peculiarity in their Laws from ALL other Nations, how came there to be some Resemblance, nay a perfect Uniformity of Customs among them? Or if there was that Resemblance and Uniformity of Customs borrowed by the Jews from the Egyptians, how can the Jews be charged with affecting a Peculiarity in their Laws from ALL other Nations? The two Pleas will not tally; one of them must be false, and I leave it with you which of the two you shall please to renounce. This, after all, is certain, that if (as Herodotus says) the Egyptian Laws and Customs were different from those of ALL other Nations, the Jews could have no Customs resembling Theirs, which yet your Letter immediately after attempts to shew in six or seven Instances.

VIII.

One of those Instances is this; In p. 48. you quote *Herodotus* as saying that *the Egyptians were more addicted to Prodigies and Miracles than any other People*. I objected to this Quotation, because the Words *and Miracles* are not in the Original, and because τέρατα there cannot signify *Miracles*, but *Prodigies* only (such as monstrous Births, unnatural Copulations, &c.) as the next Words of *Herodotus* shew, (a) for (says he) *when a Prodigy happens, they observe and write down the Event; and, if afterwards any thing happens like that Prodigy, they conclude that the Event will be the same*. To this you reply that τέρατα does sometimes mean *Miracles*. I grant it: but it cannot possibly do so here, and you yourself do not directly say it does. Only you hint as if the Sentence, which you quoted, was compleat in its self, because in all our Editions it is distinguished by a full Stop. But if that is Fact, any one must see that they are all wrong, because the next Words for *when a Prodigy happens, &c.* are plainly a Reason given for what preceded them. And the same Word τέρατα being used in the last part of the Sentence, its undoubted Meaning there must determine its Meaning in the former part.

But you make a second little Effort to shew that τέρατα may signify *Miracles* here; by giving a new Sense to ἀνεύρη which you explain by *contrived, invented, or found out*: Just

(a) l. 2 c. 82.

now your Editions were good Authority, and here, it seems, they are none, for you have found a Sense of this Word contrary to Theirs: But that is not the worst of it: it is contrary to the rest of *Herodotus's* Meaning; he says, *ἄνυστος γὰρ* for *when a Prodigy happen'd*: Can that be said to happen, which is the Effect of Contrivance? And what could induce the *Egyptians* to observe and write down the Event of a Miracle which was only *invented* and *contrived*? It would have been well, if you had allowed fewer *Miracles* to the *Egyptians* and more to *Moses*.

IX.

In your next Quotation from *Herodotus*, your *Letter* represents him as saying that the *Egyptians* had one High Priest as well as an Hereditary Priesthood descending from Father to Son: Which you offer as one Instance of a Jewish Custom derived from the Egyptian Source. I objected to this Quotation as giving a false Account of the Matter. The Words of *Herodotus* are these, (a) *Every God has several Priests, one of which* (several Priests of every God) *is the High Priest*; which plainly imply that there must have been more *High Priests* in *Egypt* than *One*, as there were more Gods worshipped there than one; they were thirty six perhaps in number, as the *Nomes* and Gods worshipped in those *Nomes* were: What says your Defence to this? Why, first you twice change the Expression *one High Priest* into an *High Priest*, as if you meant to make the Reader think that the Question here between us

(a) l. 2. c. 37.

was, Whether the *Egyptians* had an *High Priest* (whereas I affirmed that they had several;) not, Whether they had One over the whole Nation, which was what your Quotation implied, and which I shew'd to be contrary to the Meaning of *Herodotus*.

Next you pretend that your Endeavour was only to prove a *Similitude of Custom*, not an *Identity or absolute Uniformity in all Points and Circumstances*: But whatever you endeavoured to prove, you quoted *Herodotus* for a different Meaning from his true one: And if you had quoted him right, the Reader might have seen that it was not so likely for the Custom, of having one national High Priest, to have been borrowed by the *Jews* (it borrowed at all) from the *Egyptians*, as from other Nations, where we know for a certain that there was such an Establishment, though perhaps not in *Egypt*. This, Sir, is the Meaning of what I said in p. 25. and shall leave it to the Reader to judge, whether the Assertion was so *silly* an one, as to merit the *Laughter of every Man of Sense*. p. 53.

In the last Place you attempt to shew that your Sense of *Herodotus* is very clear from other Passages of his History; you refer to one of them: But if you can prove the Point from other Passages, the Reader will remember that it cannot be proved from that which I objected to as proving the very contrary. This by the by; Let us now see what this Proof of yours will produce. You alledge from *Herod. l. 2. c. 143.* that *each High Priest provided a Statue for himself; and that the Priests shew'd Herodotus, in a large Room or Temple, 341* (it should be 345) *Statues, the Images of*
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so many High Priests in lineal Descent from Father to Son; and that the Number of their High Priests and Kings happened to be Equal. This you make decisive for there being one High Priest over all Egypt: But when the Passage is better considered, it is plain that nothing can be certainly concluded from it: For every God had his several Priests in Egypt, one of which was High Priest (as Herodotus had before said): now they were the Priests of Jupiter at Thebes, which shew'd Herodotus these Statues of the High Priests in the Temple of that God, and therefore it is most likely that the High Priests, represented by those Statues, were not High Priests over all Egypt, but such as presided over those Priests only which belong'd to the Temple of Jupiter. The former Passage being clear and express, this latter one should in Reason be understood consistently with That.

X.

To the Charge of false Quotation under this Article, you plead, p. 54. Guilty of the Fact, but not of the Intention; however, since I have *taken from you an Egyptian Custom, you think your self obliged to replace it with another, viz. the Laws about Animals clean and unclean: which (as you say) the learned Cotelerius allows to have been taken probably from the Practice of Egypt. But you might know, Sir, that others, as learned Men, have shewn that this Distinction of Clean and Unclean Animals (which implies Laws about them) was previous to the Flood, and that there is no need to send the Jews to Egypt for the borrowing this Custom. You may see this Matter more at large in Mr. Shucford's Connect. &c.*

vol. 1. p. 81. and vol. 2. p. 409. and in the Univ. Hist. b. 1. c. 7.

XI.

We come to the last of the Quotations, which you made from *Herodotus*, to prove that in Fact many *Jewish* Customs were derived from the *Egyptians*: you represent him as saying that the *Egyptians* *abhorred Swines Flesh as impure and abominable*. This I allow'd to be so far true, that he says the *Egyptians* *esteemed an Hog to be an impure Beast*; Is this the same (tho', p. 51. you call it the same) with allowing that you *delivered the true Sense of Herodotus*? It is not necessary, that they who reckoned an *Hog* an *impure* Beast, should therefore abominate the *Flesh* of it, which it is plain the *Egyptians* did not? for *Herodotus* adds (and you, to have made your Quotation a fair one, should have added) that the *Egyptians* *had Swineherds among them, sacrificed Swine, and even eat of the Flesh of it*. These three Circumstances you dropped, and I objected that this was Partiality in quoting. This you call my *usual Acuteness*, and represent yourself as not bound to *shew in all Points an Identity of Custom*. But have you proved this *Identity of Custom* in any *one* Point? Can the *Egyptians* be said to have *abhorred Swines Flesh*, when they *eat it* at their most Religious Feasts? Did the *Jews* do any thing like This at either their Publick or Private Meals? Where is the Resemblance then? And how could the *Egyptian* Notion of the Impurity of Swine be the same with that of the *Jews*? All this while, Sir, you have taken no notice of that remarkable Passage which I
quoted

quoted from Mr. Shucford's Connect. Vol. I. p. 317. in these Words, *There is one Observation, which as far as I have had Opportunity to apply it, will fully answer every Particular that Dr. Spencer has offer'd, and that is this; He is able to produce no one Ceremony or Usage practised both in the Religion of Abraham or Moses, and in that of the Heathen Nations, but that it may be proved that it was used by Abraham or Moses, or by some of the true Worshippers of God earlier than by any of the Heathen Nations.* As little regard you have paid to a Passage which I cited from *Josephus*, and which is very decisive against your suppos'd Resemblance of the Jewish and Egyptian Religious Customs; his Words I will give you once more. He alledges this as one Reason why the Egyptians hated the Jews so much, viz. *the great Difference of the Religions of the two (a) Nations; the Jewish Worship being as different from that establish'd among the Egyptians, as the Nature of God is from that of the Brutes.* To which Testimony may be added another of the same Author, who says that *(b) the Jewish Laws differed from the Grecian, but more especially from those of the Egyptians.*

XII.

I charged you under this Article with falsely translating a Passage of *Spencer*, where he speaks (as you say) in the Words of *Maimonides*. To shew that Circumcision was so

(a) *Contra Apion*. l. 1. c. 25.(b) *Ib*. l. 2. c. 7.

hazardous a thing *that it often proved mortal*, you quote these Words from *Spencer*, *res durissima* & *difficillima*, *nec sine vitæ discrimine quandoque subeunda*, and render them thus, *a most harsh and dangerous thing, not to be undergone without some Hazard of Life*; as if it was *hazardous* in general, whereas *Spencer's* Words only say that it was *sometimes* so. To this you reply, p. 56. that the preceding Words of *Maimonides*, *durissima* & *difficillima*, describe it as a *most harsh and hazardous thing*; and *most hazardous* being the same as *most dangerous*, the Business is done, you have caught hold of the true Sentiment of the Author, and I am prov'd a solemn Pedant for following the very Perplexities of the Original.

But there are some things, Sir, to be consider'd, before your Reply will be allow'd to be so satisfactory. Does *difficillima* necessarily signify *hazardous* or *dangerous*? But (what is more) at this time of day you might have known from a Pamphlet, intitled, *An Answer to your Letter on the Point of Circumcision*, &c. that *Spencer* (or rather *Buxtorf*, whom he follow'd) has quite mistaken the Sense of *Maimonides* in this Passage. The Words *nec sine vitæ*, &c. are not to be found either in *Maimonides* or *Buxtorf's* Version; they are the Comment which *Spencer* (mistaking the Sense of the Word) drew from *difficillima*, and are distinguish'd as *Spencer's* and not the *Rabbi's* in that very Edition, which you refer to, tho' you have represented it quite otherwise. I differ not much from the abovemention'd Gentleman, and therefore offer the following Translation of the Words of *Maimonides*, as
exactly

exactly agreeable to his Meaning. *As for Circumcision, no one will (or would) perform it on himself or his Sons except for the sake of Religious Faith (or Obedience): Let it not be (accounted) as a Scratch of the Leg or a Burn of the Arm; but as a thing that will (or would) be very grievous, that the abundance of Love may be therefore manifested, i. e. as it gives Pain in the Operation, it would justly be reckoned a hard or grievous thing, if those who underwent the Operation, did not thereby manifest their Love of God and shew their Readiness to obey his Institution. What is there now in this Passage, that represents Circumcision as a hazardous and dangerous thing? You have misrepresented Spencer, and he has grossly mistaken Maimonides: In one thing you both agree, and that is to mislead the Reader: But for your farther Conviction on this Article, you would do well to reflect on another Passage, which the Answerer has produced from the same Maimonides: (a) It is permitted (says he) to circumcise with any thing, be it with a Flint or Glass, or any thing that cuts, because there is no Danger. After this let Maimonides never be produced for the Voucher of its being a dangerous Operation.*

XIII.

You quoted *Lightfoot* in your Letter as informing us, that *the frequent Mortality, which Circumcision occasioned, produced a standing Law,*

(a) *Maim. de Circumcis. c. i.*

that when any Person had lost three Children successively by the Operation, he was excused from circumcising the rest. To this I reply'd that *Lightfoot* says nothing there either of a *standing Law*, or of a *frequent Mortality*; by a *standing Law*, you tell me (with some Reflexions on my Understanding) that you did not mean a *Law of Moses*: and I never understood you as meaning so; no Words of mine imply it in the least. You meant (you say, p. 57.) a *Custom founded upon a Decree of the proper Judges in the Case, a Judgment of the Jewish Doctors, or a Decision of them*, which I expressed it to be. But I spoke of (what is the Truth of the Case) such a *Decision* as was not a publick but a private one; some deciding one way, and one of them (I might have said, some of them) deciding the contrary way, for I think that the Numbers are pretty near equal on the two sides of the Question.

To prove, what I denied, that *Lightfoot* speaks of a *frequent Mortality* happening by *Circumcision*, you ask, p. 58. *Whether the Fact which Lightfoot mentions as sometimes happening, of three Children dying of it successively, does not necessarily imply it.* But with your leave, Sir, *Lightfoot* no where mentions, this Event as *sometimes happening*. He mentions such a Case indeed; and in the Place which he refers to as his Authority, there is only one Instance given of this Fact, of *three Childrens dying successively*, which you say happened *sometimes*: And yet (what is remarkable) in this very Instance, it appears that the three Children could not properly be said to die of the Circumcision, and that the fourth was not excused on
that

that Account from being circumcised, but *after tarrying a little while was circumcised, and did well after it.* Both these Circumstances are directly contrary to what you had made *Lightfoot* say; and yet both of them have been shewn to be True from the Words of the Original Authors, cited at large and explain'd by the Gentleman, p. 16. who wrote the *Answer to your Letter on the Point of Circumcision.*

After this I need not be at much Trouble to shew, how unfairly you deal with me, when you represent me, p. 58. as *allowing that there are upon Record five or six Instances of three Children dying successively by Circumcision; which you think sufficient to shew that Circumcision was often mortal.* From whence you can gather this supposed Allowance of mine, I am at a loss to conceive: My Words are, *Lightfoot* quotes five or six Passages indeed, in which mention is made of an uncircumcised Israelite and uncircumcised Priest, when their Brethren died of Circumcision. But are five or six Passages the same with five or six Instances? May they not all relate to one Instance? Nothing appears to the contrary in *Lightfoot*: He is able to produce but one Instance, which is that reported by *R. Nathan*, and which (as I said before) directly contradicts you in the two Circumstances, for which you chiefly appeal to it. Most certainly you can never infer from *Lightfoot* and his Citations, that any one of those Authors must have known *five or six Instances*; which unless you suppose them to have done, your Application of the Case of the *Small pox* to this purpose is very far from containing any Parallel to the Case in Question.

XIV.

We come now, Sir, in the course of your Misrepresentations to examine what you had said in your Letter about the Story of *Babel*. You seem displeased, p. 59. with my reckoning this in the Number of your *Quotations*: And if it will be any Satisfaction to you, I am content to change the Name of it, because I don't love to dispute about Trifles, and because by this time perhaps you may have some dislike to the Word *Quotations*. But thus much I hope to shew, that the Scripture has said one thing and you quite another; which if it be not the same as quoting falsely, is certainly the same as representing (not merely *reasoning*) falsely.

You had said in your Letter that *it is evident from Gen. xi. that the Sons of Noah were so far from any Resolution of not dispersing themselves, that they had already begun to disperse, had actually sent off a Colony from the East to the Land of Shinar*: And in Proof of your Assertion you quoted Passages from *Patrick* and *Calmet*. To this I reply'd, that the Scripture is as express against what is to You so *evident* as Words can represent it; and that the Question is what the Scripture teaches about the Matter, not what any Commentator has fancied. Here you attempt, p. 61. to play Dr. *W.* and me against each other; and because the Doctor had charged his Adversary with *having no Acquaintance with the Commentators*, you charge me with *contemning you for being acquainted with the Commentators*: But this Contrast, if it may pass for Wit, cannot pass for Truth, because I only express a dislike of your trusting
to

to their Opinion against the plain Account given in Scripture. It seems however that *you thought your self safe under the Shelter of such Authority*, p. 60. Was it this Thought, Sir, that led you to represent the Sentiments of *Calmet* on this head so very untruly, as you have done? For *Calmet* in the Passage, which you produce from him, speaks of no Resolution of *dispersing themselves, till about a hundred Years after the Flood*; by which he means, till after they had journey'd from the East and were come to the *Shinar*: That this is his Opinion, appears from his Note on *Gen. xi. 2.* where he expressly says, that *the first Men after the Deluge came by different Marches to the Land of Shinar, and were ALL together in that Place.* *Calmet's* Authority therefore will serve you for no *Shelter*: It will not make you *Safe*, much less *Orthodox* (as you say), since his Opinion and yours are directly contrary. Bishop *Patrick* indeed favours your Opinion; but the Scriptural Account is directly opposite to what He and You have suggested.

In my Reply I quoted these Passages from ch. xi. *The whole Earth was of one Speech*, ver. 1. and it came to pass as they journey'd from the East, that they found a Plain in the Land of *Shinar* and dwelt there, ver. 2. Upon which I observed, that *THEY* who journey'd from the East to *Shinar*, and they who dwelt there, are here represented as being *the whole Earth*. Your Defence endeavours to invalidate or rather puzzle this Proof, by intimating, p. 61. that in the last Verse of the preceding Chapter it is said of the Sons of *Noah*, by them were the Nations divided in the Earth after the Flood: As if, because men-

tion is there previously made of a Division, the Division too must be previous in the order of Time to the Story of *Babel*. What is more natural than that the sacred Historian should first mention a Division into Nations, and then tell us (as he does in chap. xi.) how it came about? That this was the Case, Bishop *Patrick* (who is one of your *Shelters*) teaches you in his Note on chap. xi. 1. But he is of no Authority with You I perceive, except when he speaks your Sentiments.

All this while, Sir, you forget or conceal the Passages of Scripture, upon which I chiefly grounded my Assertion, that they had not begun to disperse before the Confusion of Languages happened at *Babel*: In ver. 9. it is said, *The Lord did there confound the Language of all the Earth, and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the Earth*. Is it possible for Words to represent in a plainer Manner, that what happened there, happened not to a Part but to the whole of Mankind? And can any thing be more directly contrary to your Position? The Scripture says that at *Babel* God confounded the Language of *all the Earth*: you say that *all the Earth*, all Mankind was *not there*. The Scripture says that from *Babel* God scattered them abroad upon the face of *all the Earth*: and you say that there was *some kind of Dispersion and peopling of different Countries previous to that Confusion*, p. 61. From whence the Reader may see that the Scripture plainly asserts one thing, and you take upon you to assert another.

XV.

I am come now to the last of the Fifteen Articles, upon which I charged you with misrepresenting the Authors that you refer to. In your Letter you had said, *All that we can collect from the Story of the building the Tower of Babel is that the Multitude, knowing they must disperse, had a mind before such Dispersion to erect some publick Monument of their Common Origin by building a City and Tower that should reach as high as Heaven: and that it was the Presumption and Arrogance of this Design, which induced God to baffle it by confounding their Language, and to disperse them from that Place, &c.* This I shew'd to be a collecting from the Scripture a Design quite different from what it expressly mentions. The Words are (chap. xi. ver. 4.) *Let us build us a City and a Tower, whose Top may reach unto Heaven, and let us make us a Name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole Earth.* Where the Design of what they were doing is plainly declared to be that they might not be scattered abroad; but the Design which you ascribe to them is that they might have some publick Monument of their Common Origin. Can Designs be more different than these two are? Happy must the Art be that can reconcile Your Account with the scriptural one! Let us see how you attempt to do it. You ask, p. 64. if the Scripture does not plainly intimate that the ground of their offending God was in the Design that they had projected of building a Tower as high as Heaven; and whether it gives any other Instance of their Arrogance and Presumption. The Text, Sir, says

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nothing

nothing of any *Arrogance and Presumption* in the Builders, nor of any offending God, unless in the Sense of God's disapproving what they had projected, which he might do, and yet they might not have been guilty of what you lay to their charge. If they designed by their building to prevent their being dispersed, and if it was God's Intention that such Dispersion should not be prevented, here was ground sufficient for God to act in such a manner as should necessarily produce an early Dispersion. Again, in those Words of yours abovementioned, you tell us as from Scripture that their *Design was to build a Tower as high as Heaven*, and soon after that *their Intent was to raise themselves a Name by the Project they had formed*. True; but is this all that the Scripture says? Is this the ultimate and proper End mentioned in the Text? They who said, *Let us build us a Tower, and make us a Name*, intended (no doubt) to build a Tower and make themselves a Name: But this was in order to some other End, and that is plainly expressed in the Words *lest we be scattered abroad*. How, Sir, could you possibly hope that this would pass for an Answer with any attentive Reader?

The Dispute between You and Me is, whether the main Intent of the Builders was to erect a publick Monument *lest they should be scattered abroad*, as the Text says; or for a Memorial of their *Common Origin*, which is your Supposition, not only unwarranted, but directly contradicted by Scripture. You are pleased, p. 65. to call it *strange Nonsense* to say, *Let us build us a City and a Tower to prevent our farther Dispersion, &c.* but where does this
Charge

Charge fall? Does it not fall upon the Scripture, which adds *lest we be scattered abroad, &c?* Can any thing be more clear than that the Text speaks the very thing which you distinguish by the Title of *strange Nonsense*? But you add in support of what you had rashly said, *as if a Tower could alter the Nature of things and prevent their being scattered and dispersed to people the Earth, unless we can suppose them resolved to combat Heaven it self.* What need was there, Sir, for this Excursion to charge me with such a preposterous way of thinking, when you must have observed that my Account of the Matter fully obviated this Cavil? I declared for the Opinion of *Perizonius* and others, who by the *Hebrew Word Shem*, which we commonly render a *Name*, understand a *Monument* or *Sign*; and suppose that the Tower which those Builders projected was design'd for a Landmark, which by its Height might be seen at a Distance; and by the help of which, whenever they were separated as their occasions required, they might always know how to return to the City, where they and their Companions seem to have determined to live together.

But whatever their Intent was, it could never have been what you venture in defiance of Scripture to ascribe to them; it could never have been for the having a *publick Monument of their Common Origin*: If that had been their View, they would probably have entered into such a Project before any of them had travelled Westward, and separated themselves (as you suppose they did) from the *common Body of Mankind*. Besides, it could scarcely have entered

tered Then into their Heads to conceive, that any succeeding Age would ever doubt of their having had a *Common Origin*; much less is it probable that they should have taken such Pains to prevent what was so unlikely to happen. And lastly, if this was all their Intent, how can you reconcile it with the *Arrogance* and *Presumption* which you suppose them to have been guilty of in this Attempt? Such a Design was most certainly a laudable one, was of use to Religion and Civil Life; and God could never have been so offended at it, as to confound their Language and disperse Men who had so innocent an Intent as this. These Objections I made to your awkward Supposition; but you have thought them not worthy of the least mention: A strong Presumption that they are not to be answered by You, who never miss an Opportunity, but often make one, of setting an Adversary forth to the utmost Disadvantage! This will appear from what follows.

I had mentioned the old *Greek* and *Latin* Versions of this Text now before us, as rendering the latter Part of it, *before we be scattered*, &c. instead of *lest we be scattered*, &c. This Translation of theirs I happened to call an *Idle one*; with what Pleasure do you presently catch it up! How ready are you to make the most of it and to charge me *with rashly censuring the old Greek Version and calling it an idle Translation!* p. 65. But is this the Truth of the Matter? Do I charge the whole Version with Idleness? Is it not plain that I was speaking of that single Passage only? Read my Words again, and you must find it so. But what
Excuse

Excuse will you make for your self, Sir, when to aggravate my suppos'd Rashness of Expression, you tell me that the *Greek Version* of the LXX Interpreters was *authenticated* (*as it were*) by our Saviour? Where, when, and how? Pray inform us of this new Discovery more particularly: Did our Saviour ever quote this Version? Did he ever speak *Greek* at all? If you have any Proofs of this Point, be so good as to communicate them to the Learned World; and they will tend more to your Credit as a Scholar (I can assure you) than any thing which you have offered throughout your whole Defence.

I have now finished my Reply to the Defence, which you make upon the Fifteen Quotations (few in proportion to what deserved such a Censure, but yet the only Fifteen) which I objected to as gross and plain Misrepresentations. You proceed next to vindicate your Historical Facts: These you reduce to the Number of Two, and then of One, and then of None, by a happy Sagacity of Reckoning as well as Reasoning. Had I leisure, I could make ample amends for my former Deficiency in Number on this head: But I compute those Historical Facts, which I objected to in my first Reply, to be Five in Number, tho' the Four first having some Relation to each other I ranged them under one Article.

(1.) The first Historical Fact including the three others annexed to it, was whether *Egypt* was so *Polite and Learned and Flourishing a Nation* in *Moses's time*, and the *Jews so rude and illiterate*, as you have represented them. The
 Substance

Substance of what I offer'd on this head, was, that tho' your Opinion in favour of the Antiquity of the *Egyptian* Learning had long prevailed in the World, yet now that Sir *Isaac Newton's* Chronology had appear'd and given so different an Account of that Matter, with such Appearance of Probability against the common Sentiment, it was not fair and equitable in you to put off the old Principles in Chronology, as undoubted Truths, and as if nothing had been said by that Great Author to confute or weaken them.

It seems that in one place I had called what Sir *Isaac* has offered on that Point his *Discoveries*, and in another his *Demonstrations*. This you represent at every turn as an *Absurdity*, and tell me that *had I reflected what a Demonstration meant, I could never have applied it to a System of Chronology*, p. 69. But why not, Sir? because there are mathematical *Demonstrations*; does it follow that there is no other sort of *Demonstrations*? Convince your Readers first that *Eusebius's* Work called, *Demonstratio Evangelica*, carries Nonsense in the very Title. Convince them first that Bishop *Patrick* knew nothing of what a *Demonstration* meant, when he applied this Word, just as I did, to *Chronology*; for his Note on *Gen. xi. 1.* concludes thus, *as the most learned Primate Usher has demonstrated in his Annals*. Whenever the Proof is as strong, as the nature of the Subject treated on will allow of, it is called a *Demonstration*; and the Etymology of the Word as well as the the Common Use of it justifies this Sense. However my Mistake is represented still greater; for I call the same things *Demonstrations* and *Discoveries* too;

too; and this (you say) is an *Absurdity* in me: But pray, what was it in *Archimedes*, when having hit upon that famous *Demonstration*, he ran about the Streets and cry'd *Εὑρηκα*, *I have discovered it?*

As to the Point in Question, viz. the Learning and Flourishing Condition of *Egypt* in *Moses's* time, you scorn to make it good against me, who (you say) seem to know but little of the Matter, p. 69. I am content, Sir, that you should try your Strength against some more learned Adversary. If I am rightly informed, the late learned Dr. *Woodward* has left in MS. a Discourse to shew that the *Egyptians* borrowed all their Learning from the *Hebrews*, and to prove likewise that *Moses* their great Lawgiver had a Divine Mission and Authority. This curious Piece may possibly see the Light soon, and then, Sir, you may dress up your Answer against it with all that Strength of Reason, Exactness of Quotation, and Decency of Language, which you appear to be master of. And I the rather advise you to choose him out for an Adversary, because you must (I think) acknowledge Him to have been a Gentleman of great Genius and Learning, and every way qualified for the Examination of these Points. A Character which even Sir *Isaac Newton* is not allowed by You, who p. 70. declare it as your Opinion that for a thorough Knowledge of *Antiquity*, and the whole Compass of *Greek and Egyptian Learning* there have been and now are Men as far superior to Him, as He within his proper Character is superior to every body else. How low is the great *Newton* placed in your Opinion of him! But

however ignorant you think he was in these Points, you have vouchsafed him such an Answer as shews that there is a Step in Knowledge still lower than that which you have been pleased to assign him. Some Pages you have vouchsafed to bestow upon what He has said in his large and elaborate Treatise of *Chronology*: But with what Success let any Reader judge, who has ever looked into that judicious Work as well as into your slight Answer to it. Sir *Isaac Newton*, p. 193. attempting to prove that *Osiris*, *Bacchus*, or *Sesostris* was the same Person as *Sesac* or *Shishac*, enumerates about thirteen Particulars in which the Historians agree to ascribe the same things to them: You in citing this Passage drop all the Particulars, except six; and then, the greatest Part and the most material of them being concealed from your Reader, you call his Argument *mere Conjecture*, and gravely conclude that *he might as well have said that they must all be the same with Alexander the Great, since the same Actions are also attributed to him*, p. 79. This I give as one flagrant Instance of your Partiality in Quoting. Vain Effort, to think of confuting such a Writer by such an unfair and superficial Answer! But whenever you shall be more at leisure, or better inclined, to examine his Arguments candidly and thoroughly; and whenever you shall think fit to treat this Subject fully, I will venture to say that you shall not want one, who will attempt to do Justice to Sir *Isaac's* Proofs, and (as far as he can) to that side of the Question. And with this Promise I will leave you in Possession (if you think so) of that Question.

I have only one thing more which I would observe on this Article before I leave it: I had said that *there are no grounds from the Scripture Story to conclude that the setting up of the Golden Calf in the Wilderuess, was to recal the Worship of the Egyptian Apis*: This you call, in p. 85. *a betraying my Ignorance of Scripture Story*: But how does this appear! Why you quote three Texts of Scripture, which at most only shew that the *Jews* learned the Practice of Idolatry in general from the *Egyptians*; not that they worshipped those very Idols which the *Egyptians* did: But all this while you misrepresent me: For by the *Scripture Story* I meant, and could mean, no other than the Story as related in *Exod. 32.* from whence I drew my Arguments to prove that the *Jews* in that Act did intend to worship *Jehovah*, the God who brought them out of the *Land of Egypt*: Not *Apis* or any other of the *Egyptian* Gods, in Opposition to whom and with the Destruction of whom they came out of *Egypt*: From this Scripture Story I then said and still assert, that there are no grounds to conclude the Golden Calf to have been set up for the Worship of the *Egyptian Apis*: If any other Texts of Scripture favour your Opinion (tho' I think they do not), yet this Assertion of mine can never *betray my Ignorance in Scripture*. But by the way, Sir, should not those who are so free and frequent in charging others with *Ignorance of Scripture*, be very sure that they themselves are not guilty of the very same which they are reproaching others with? And yet, in p. 78. you say that *at Jacob's Descent into Egypt the whole Posterity of Abraham*

ham reached only the Number of Seventy Persons? Only Seventy Persons indeed went down with *Jacob* into *Egypt*: But were They the whole Posterity of *Abraham*? Have you forgot then the Descendants of *Ishmael* and *Esau*? So numerous, that some learned Men have reckoned them to have been seven times more than the Family of *Jacob*. I could give more Instances of your Negligence in reporting Scriptural Facts: But this perhaps may suffice at present, and may shew you the Necessity of considering things better, before you throw out such rash Charges for the future.

The last Historical Fact which I contested with you, was *in relation to the Confusion of Languages at Babel*: This you thought was to be accounted for without the help of the *Miracle* recorded by *Moses*, or of any Divine Interposition.

You were of Opinion that *all the Variety of Languages observable in the World may be accounted for by natural Causes, exclusive of any Miracle or extraordinary Interposition of God*. To disprove this Assertion, I asked you, *Whether any or all of your Natural Causes could produce such a Variety of Languages, as that the things which are of most common use in Life, and which all Men are every Day speaking of, should come in different Countries to be expressed by Words, which have not the least Affinity with one another, no, not so much as in one Radical Letter?* In Support of this Question I instanced in *Water, Hand, Foot, Head, Mouth, &c.* and shewed that they are expressed by quite different Words in different Languages. This you call *trifling*: Fact, you say, is against me: How? Why

Why by mixing and blending the Sounds of concurring Nations, new Names have been formed for the most necessary things of Life, as well as the most obvious Parts of the Body, e.g. one Part of Italy anciently called the Mouth *Stoma*; the other Part, *Os*; now all call it *Bocca*, &c. Pray, Sir, who were they in that Part of Italy that called the Mouth *Stoma*? Were they not Greeks? Is this then any disproof of what I had said, viz. that *Mouth* is *Stoma* in Greek, and *Os* in Latin? Those Greeks by being in Italy did not cease to be Greeks, nor was their Language any other than the Greek one, where-soever it was spoken. Now you say all call it *Bocca*: Why now? Was not *Bucca* an old Latin Word, used at the same time that *Os* was? You seem to insinuate the contrary, nay you build your Argument on the contrary; for if the ancient *Latins* called it *Bucca* as the modern *Italians* call it *Bocca*, this will not serve you as an Instance (tho' you bring it for one) of NEW NAMES having been formed for the most obvious Parts of the Body. The same Remark might be made upon what you have said concerning the different Names for the *Eye* and the *Ear*; the Answer to your former Instance will serve for these; tho' the Fallacy of them all is so visible, that perhaps I have need to ask the Reader's Pardon that I have given any of them a distinct Examination.

You repeat your Sentiment in favour of the Power of Natural Causes only to effect such a Variety as there is seen in Languages; and you attempt, p. 92. to explain it farther against me by saying, *It was the natural and necessary Mutability of all human things, that*
forced

forced Men by Degrees to change their old Words, for the more prevailing Sounds of such People as had then got the Superiority or principal Rule in the Country.

This being the last Argument in your Defence, we may suppose that you intend it for a strong and substantial one, such as shall leave a good Impression on the Readers in favour of your Strength of Reasoning. But permit me, Sir, to ask you one Question, tho' it should prove a troublesome one to answer, *viz.* Whence those *more prevailing Sounds* arose, and how those who *had got the Superiority and principal Rule* came themselves to have Words so different from those of the Country which they conquered? When you answer this Question clearly, you will be able to see that this Prop of your former Assertion is but a weak one, and that it accounts for the Change of Words in the one Case by an Argument which leaves the Matter still unaccounted for in the other. If this be reasoning, I am content to be without it.

By this time, Sir, the Reader (I believe) has fully seen how little Credit your Writings deserve in their Appeals to the Authors which you cite. But the most important Part of your *Defence* still remains to be examined; I mean that which more openly and directly attempts to *weaken the Authority of Moses*.

Your Sentiments upon this head lie scatter'd in several Pages of your *Defence*; but I shall take the trouble to bring them a little nearer together, that the Reader may see them more distinctly under one View.

You plead for (a) *some Liberty of thinking as to the Divinity of the Jewish sacred Books*. You ask (b) *What it is that we Christians are obliged to believe of the Story of the Serpent tempting Eve?* And contend for our understanding *Moses's Account of Paradise, the Creation of Man and his Fall as an Allegory only*; upon this Supposition, (c) *that the Letter is found in Fact contradictory to Reason and the Notions we have of God*. You say that (d) *the Supposition of some Degree of Fiction and Fable or Political Lying may possibly be found necessary to the solving the Difficulties of the Mosaic Writings, without any hurt to their Authority or Advantage to Infidelity*. You recommend (e) *moderate and qualified Sentiments concerning the Divine Origin of the Jewish Law and the Divine Inspiration of its Founder Moses*: and speaking of Him you observe that (f) *a Persuasion of being under the particular Guidance of God—will always have more or less Influence on the Mind, as it falls in with a Constitution more or less inclined to Superstition or Enthusiasm (the peculiar Character of the Jewish Nation), which is apt to impute every laudable Thought and successful Action to the special Suggestion and Assistance of Heaven*: Which Words must be understood to express your own Sentiments and not those of *Josephus*; for it is well known that the Aim of many Parts of his Works was to shew, that the Jews were the freest from *Superstition and Enthusiasm* of any Nation under Heaven. And (to

(a) *Def.* p. 42.(b) *Ib.* p. 13.(c) *Ib.* p. 15.(d) *Ib.* p. 45.(e) *Letter.* p. 28.(f) *Def.* p. 31.

add no more) when, under the Covert of *Josephus's* Name, you had represented the Miracles of *Moses* as not (a) *real* but *pretended* ones, and had, to obviate all Offence, beg'd the Reader to remember, that you were not declaring your own Sentiments but those of *Josephus*, you forbear to declare that Your Sentiments are different from those which you impute to *Josephus*: which you would hardly have fail'd to do, if they had been different; since you could not but apprehend that your silence on this head, at this time, would be so far from obviating all Offence, that it must necessarily increase it.

This is the Figure which you make in your *Letter* and *Defence* of it: An attentive Reader sees what your Scheme is, tho' the several Parts of it lie disjointed and dispersed thro' many Pages.—*Invenias etiam disjecti membra*—.

There are two Points then which it may be of use to examine: The one, *Whether Moses's Account of the Creation and Fall of Man is to be understood literally or not*: The other, *Whether the Religion and Laws, which Moses delivered to the Jews, had a Divine Origin and Authority*.

I. That *Moses's Account of the Creation and Fall of Man* is not to be understood Literally, you would persuade us by asserting, That there is *much Mystery in it*, and that therefore all the Parts of it cannot be Literally true; That *the Letter of it is in Faët found contradictory to Reason and the Notions we have of God*; and lastly, That *the Primitive Writers in*

(a) *De f.* p. 32, 33.

general not only followed the *Allegorical Way* of interpreting it, but looked upon this way to be on many Occasions the only Method of vindicating it.

Let us see what Truth there is in these three Assertions.

That there is *certainly much Mystery* in the Story, you assure us; but where is it to be found? When we go to interpret the Words of that Sentence, which God pronounced concerning the *Enmity between the Serpent and the Woman*, I confess that we ascribe a mystical Meaning to them; and we have good Warrant for so doing: But still the Story it self in all the Parts of it lies open and plain; still it is Literally true, that such a Sentence was pronounced by God. By a wonderful Facility you have of confounding one Word with another, you use *Mystery, Allegory, Figure, and Metaphor*, as all of them meaning the same thing. Hence you say, p. 14. *that God MADE MAN, is accepted Literally; but AFTER HIS OWN IMAGE, in a Figurative or Metaphorical Sense: Does a Metaphor used in Writing by Cicero or any other Author make what he says less Literally true? you will not affirm it surely. Again, you say that the Serpent (Literally understood before), when he accosts Eve, becomes an Allegorical Beast. What a Misapplication is here of the Word Allegory? Did the Serpent cease to be truly and properly a Beast, because it was influenced and actuated at that time by some other Being, as the New Testament warrants us to say? With what Propriety then could you compare the Story; p. 14. to the very Serpent it treats of, as all over spotted and speckled here with Letter and there with Mystery? The Prettiness of the Thought seems to have made you overlook the want of Justness in it: For (to use your own Similitude) it may be*

more truly said, that as the *Serpent* was a real and proper *Serpent*, tho' animated at that time by an invisible Spirit; so the Story is Literally true, tho' with regard to its Interpretation it includes a *Mystery* in the *Letter*.

In the next place you intimate that *the Letter of this Story is in Fact contradictory to Reason and the Notions we have of God*, p. 15. In your Letter to Dr. W. you had talk'd to the same purpose, p. 18, 19. and the Instances which you there give, are no others than what have been often objected to and as often justified and cleared sufficiently. The last Authors which have entered into this Subject, are the learned and ingenious Compilers of the *Universal History*, now publishing; who have in p. 60. given such an Answer to the Cavils that you have raised up again, as may satisfy any candid Enquirer into so difficult a Matter. To that History therefore I refer you, which with great Clearness of Expression and Argument too supports the *Letter* against the supposed *Allegory* of *Moses's* Account, and shews how the several Circumstances of it may be reconciled to *Reason and our Notions of God*. I shall only say thus much on the Occasion; that, if it can be shewn consistent with *Reason and our Notions of God*, (as it certainly may), that God should punish Men at all for their Sins, all the Objections, which you have started against the Literal Story of the Fall of Man and the Punishment ensuing, are easily answered; it being evidently as just in God to punish *immediately*, as at a distance of Time; to punish Man by *curseing the Earth* for his sake, as to inflict the Punishment upon his Person, &c. But I forbear to go further on this Subject, till you express your Cavils more fully and explicitly.

Your

Your last Allegation against the Truth of the Literal Story is, that you have not only the Authority of the Primitive Fathers and best Jewish Writers, for recurring to the Allegorical Exposition, p. 15. but that they esteem'd this to be on many Occasions the only Method of vindicating the Mosaic Account, p. 17.

This is boldly pronounced; we shall see by and by what Truth there is in it.

In the mean while, Sir, let me ask, why you produce *Philo*, *Clemens*, and *Eusebius* as Patrons of the Allegorical Interpretation. No one denies that those Writers run much into that fanciful Method; tho', if I mistake not, none of the Passages which you have produced from them to prove it make good your Assertion: You have mistaken the Sense of every one of them. But supposing the Fact to be True, what will you infer from thence? Will you undertake to shew, that because they interpreted this Part of Scripture Allegorically, they did not believe it to have been Literally true? Will you stoop to be an humble Follower of Mr. *Woolston* in this Argument? If you will, you must be content to take a Share of his Shame as well as his Reasoning; and the Answers, which have been given to Him on this head, may equally serve for your Confutation.

But let us examine your Authorities: *Philo* stands at the head of them: and I allow that it was his way to turn every thing almost into Allegory; but he more than once cautions his Readers against departing from the Letter of the Old Testament, (a) for (says he) all the Ceremonies re-

(a) Τῆς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀγιστίας καὶ μυείων ἄλλων ἀμελήσομεν, εἰ μόνοις περσέξωμεν τοῖς δι' ὑπονοίων δηλεμήσοις. De Migr. Abrah. p. 402.

lating to the Worship of the Temple and a thousand other Precepts would be neglected, if we were to confine our selves only to the Allegorical Signification: And he assures us that Moses did not content himself in his History with (a) saying things likely or probable, but he followed the plain and naked Truth. In this View therefore, the first Passage, which you produced p. 15. from Philo, is to be considered, and then it will serve no purpose of yours: But the second Passage of Philo which you give us, p. 16. fully implies the Truth of the literal Story, when it is rightly translated. (b) These things (says he) are not mythologic Fictions, such as the Poets and Sophisters delight in; but δαίγματα τύπων such (Faëts) as shew forth Types, inviting us to search for the Allegorical Sense, in the way of figurative Interpretation: And whoever follows the most probable Conjecture may properly say that the Serpent spoken of is the Symbol of Pleasure. In this Passage any one may see that the Word δαίγματα as oppos'd to Mythologic Fictions must certainly imply true and real Faëts, related with-

(a) Οὐ τὰ εἰκότα καὶ πιθανὰ Μωυσῆς ἀπαύζει, ἢ ὃ ἀλλόθαιαν ἀκραιφνή μεταδιώκει. De Sacrif. Abel. p. 132.

(b) Ἐστὶ ὃ ταῦτα ἐ πλάσματα μύθῳ οἷς τὸ ποιητικὸν καὶ σοριστικὸν χαίρει ἡρόθ, ἀλλὰ δαίγματα τύπων ἐπ' ἀλληγορίαν καλῶν καὶ τὰς δι' ὑπονοίων ἀποδόσεις ἐπὶ ἡρόθ δέ τις εἰκότι σοχασμῷ φήσει παρερρηκόνως ἢ ἐρρηκόν ὅφιν ἡδονῆς εἶναι σύμβολον. De Opif. Mundi. p. 36. In this Passage ὑπονοία signifies an Allegory (as Valesius shews the Word to signify in his Note on Euf. Eccl. Hist. l. 2. c. 17.) for want of knowing which you have translated the faulty Latin Version per latentes conjecturas, by the Discovery of its latent and hidden Meaning: but what Philo expresses here by αἱ δι' ὑπονοίων ἀποδόσεις he expresses in De Migr. Abrah. p. 432. by τὰ δι' ὑπονοίων δηλέ-

out any mixture of Fable; and as this Word is joined to *τύπον*, it means that they were *Typical* as well as *True*. Thus St. *Paul* in *1 Cor. x. 11.* speaking of some things, which he certainly believed to have Literally happened to the *Jews* in the Wilderness, says *τύποι σωζέσθαι*, because those Events were *Typical* and Figurative of what was afterwards to befall the Church of Christ. In the very beginning of this Treatise concerning the World, *Philo* explains this matter sufficiently. He observes (*a*) that some Lawgivers proposed their Laws *naked and without any Ornament* of Figure or Allegory at all, which he thinks poor and low: While others thought to heighten the Dignity of their Laws by conveying Truths under Fictions and Mythologic Stories. And then he represents *Moses* as following neither of these Methods; not the first because it was *rude and unphilosophical*; not the latter, because it carried a *Lye and Deceit* along with it. The Consequence of all which is, that *Moses's* Method was to wrap up Truth in Truth, a Figurative and Allegorical Sense in a true and real Historical Relation. From this Account the Reader will now be better enabled to judge that the Passage under Examination must be understood to allow the Literal Truth of the Story concerning the Serpent, tho' *Philo* represents it as *the Symbol of Pleasure*. One thing more I would observe on this Passage, which is, that the Word *aptly* or *properly* must by the Rules of Construction be joined with *φήσει*, and not with *τ' εἰρημένον ὄφιν*; tho' you have joined it with these,

(a) Τῶν ἄλλων νομοθετῶν οἱ μὲν ἀκαλλώπισα καὶ γυμνά — διατάξαντο· οἱ δὲ ——— μυθικοῖς πλάσμασι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐκκρύψαντες. Μωσῆς δὲ ἑκάτερον ὑπερβάς, τὸ μὲν ὡς ἄσκεπτον καὶ ἀφιλόσοπον, τὸ δὲ ὡς κατεφθαρμένον καὶ μετὸν γοητείας, &c.

and translated *the Serpent as it is aptly called*, &c. with a View, one may suppose, to represent *Philo* as insinuating that the *Serpent* was not a real one, but only might *aptly* be called by that Name.

So that *Philo* himself (as has been shewn) allows the Literal Truth of the Story: And *Josephus* in his *Antiquities* must be necessarily understood as doing the same, because he tells it in all its parts as having Literally happened? What other Ancient *Jewish* Apologists have you now on your side of the Question?

You next quote *Clemens of Alexandria*, and *Eusebius* to shew that they both believed this Story to contain an Allegory: and so they might without giving up the Truth of the *Literal* Account. Both those Primitive Writers are misrepresented by you, as I could easily shew; but since you do not expressly infer (tho' you seem to insinuate it) from what you make them say, that they must have disbelieved the *Literal* Story, (which you will find *Eusebius* plainly asserting in *Montfaucon's nova collectio*, p. 258.) I am content to leave you in possession of those Quotations, hastening to others which are of more Importance to be carefully examined.

For you go yet farther in the next Paragraph, p. 17. and affirm it to be *certain and undeniable that the Primitive Writers in general esteemed the Symbolical or Figurative Interpretation of Scripture to be on many Occasions the only Way of vindicating it*, p. 17. To prove this, you again refer us to *Philo*, and I refer you to what has been just now said for his real Sentiments on this matter. Your next Step is to quote Passages from *Barnabas's* Epistle, from *Tertullian* and *Origen*; you represent *Barnabas* as saying, *That the Command of God about abstaining from some Animals does not import a real Prohibition to eat: Tertullian*, that *nothing is so*

so contemptible as the Mosaic Laws about the Distinction of Animal Food: and Origen, that if we take those Laws Literally, they are unworthy of God, some of them contrary to Reason and impossible to be observed, p. 17, 18. For what Tertullian and Origen say, you refer us to Cotelierius's Note (Chap. x. Not. 38. Edit. Clerici) upon the Passage of Barnabas. And it is true, that those Passages are there cited and represented just as you have given them. But let me ask, Sir, how a lover of Truth came to stop just at this lucky part of Cotelierius's Note, and not to acquaint the Reader with what you must have observed Cotelierius immediately subjoining, viz. (a) that on the contrary very many Passages might be collected out of the same Authors which speak in praise of the same Laws of Moses. Is it Ingenuity to conceal this, and represent so material a Note so very Partially?

The Truth is with regard to the Passage of Barnabas, that Cotelierius and Menage too understood it aright when in their Notes upon the place they suppose the Expression (however strong) to have meant no more than that the Spiritual Sense was principally intended, and not the Literal Sense only, by the Law which forbid the Jews to eat Swine's Flesh: Parallel to this of Barnabas are such Scriptural Expressions as these, *Isai. i. 12.* When ye come to appear before me, who hath REQUIRED this at your hands, to tread my Courts? *Jerem. 7. 23.* I spake not unto your Fathers, NOR COMMANDED them, in the day that I brought them out of Egypt, concerning Burnt-Offerings; But this commanded I them, saying, obey my voice, &c.

(a) Profectò colligerentur facilè plurima è diverso ab iisdem Veteribus in laudem legum earundem commodiùs relata.

As for what *Tertullian* is represented by *Cotelerius* to have said, it is wholly mistaken by that Learned Annotator; in which if you had consulted the original Author, you might have satisfied your self. The Words of *Tertullian* are these (a) *What is so mean as the Law about Retaliations? What is so contemptible as the Distinction of Foods: the whole Old Testament is the Subject of Ridicule to every Heretic; for God has chosen the foolish things of the World to confound the Wise: Marcion's God does nothing like this, &c.* Where it is plain, that *Tertullian* speaks Ironically; that he represents *Marcion's* way of thinking, not his own; and intimates that none but Heretics, none but such as set up for *Wisdom*, thought these things foolish or unworthy of God. That what is here ascribed to *Tertullian*, was directly contrary to his Opinion, appears from what *Cotelerius* has cited from him in the same Note (tho' you thought fit to say nothing of it): for the Father in the (b) same Treatise against *Marcion* says, *When the Law forbids the Jews any kind of Food, and pronounces some of those Animals unclean, which God at the Creation called Good, it is meant, that they should learn to exercise Continence, and lay a Restraint upon their Appetites, and that it should be a Guard against Lust and Luxury.* This very Passage *Cotelerius* quotes at large in the Note which you refer to, and introduces it there to obviate that very Charge which you would fasten

(a) Quid tam humile quàm talionis indictio? quid tam contemptibile quàm ciborum exceptio? totum, quod sciam, V. T. omnis Hereticus irridet: Stulta enim mundi elegit Deus ut confundat sapientiam. Marcionis Deus nihil tale.

Contra Marcion. l. 5. c. 5.

(b) Si lex aliquid cibus detrahit, & immunda pronunciat animalia quæ aliquando benedicta sunt, consilium exercendæ continentiæ intellige, & frenos impositos gulæ: agnosce simul & comitibus gulæ, libidini & luxuriæ, prospectum. Ib. l. 2. c. 18.

upon

upon *Tertullian*. But what is a Warning to a Man, who will take none?

Your second-hand Quotation from *Origen* effectually carries its own Disproof along with it: For when he speaks of things *impossible to be observed*, is it not plain that he could not be speaking of the *Mosaic* Laws concerning the *Distinction of Animal Food*, tho' you apply his Words to These? Whatever he might think of the Reasonableness of those Laws, he could not possibly think that there was any the least *Impossibility of observing* a thing, which in Fact (he knew) was always observed. But as the learned Bishop *Smallbroke*, in his *Vindication of our Saviour's Miracles* against Mr. *Woolston*, has shewn at large what *Origen* meant by such Expressions as these, I refer you for farther Satisfaction on this Point to what he has said Vol. I. p. 101, &c.

These are Passages which you call *certain and undeniable* Authorities for the Necessity of vindicating the Laws about the Distinction of Animal Food by figurative Interpretation only; in every one of them you have evidently mistaken the Meaning of the Authors. How much better had you done, if you had taken a Hint from the Subject which you was upon, and had made a Distinction of Quotations too, not mixing (as you have done) the *Clean* with the *Unclean*, such as are grossly misrepresented with such as honestly speak to your purpose!

We have now seen that the Story of the Creation and Fall of Man, does not cease to be *Literally* true, tho' it should have Allegory and *Mystery* contained in some Expressions of it; That it has nothing *contradictory to our Reason and the Notions we have of God*; and That none of the best Jewish Writers and Primitive Fathers, quoted by you, do reject the Letter of it, much less

Speak of *the figurative Interpretion as the only Method of vindicating Scripture*, in such Instances as you apply it to : Let us consider then what positive Proof there is for the Credibility of the plain, unfigurative Story. The Nature of the Account as it stands in *Moses's* History, and the Testimony given to it in the Books of the New Testament, are both strong Arguments for the Truth of the Literal Sense.

If there ever was a History that had the Appearance of a plain, open and naked Account it is that in the Book of *Genesis* : Every other part of it undoubtedly contains a Literal Relation : Why then should we desert the Letter here in a direct Inconsistence with all the other parts of that History ? And to what purpose (we may ask) did an Allegorical Story, a Truth wrap'd up in Fiction serve, which would not equally have been served by a fair and obvious Literal Relation ? Was it not likely that This would be as well received, as long remembred, and much better understood than the Other ? Was it not natural for the Relator to suspect that such Fiction, if visible, would tend to lessen all his Credit in other parts of his History ? With you it would have lessen'd it, I perceive, who as soon as you have declared the Story of the Fall to be an Allegory only, (a) *think it Probable that it was drawn from Notions which Moses imbibed in his Youth in the Schools of the Egyptians.* A mere School-boy's Lesson, we are to suppose !

The other direct Proof of the Truth of this Literal Story is to be drawn from the New Testament, written by those, whom (as a Christian) you must believe to be proper Judges in this Mat-

ter. And this Testimony I the rather appeal to, because it will shew the Rashness of what you assert in p. 13. that the Story of the Serpent depends upon the SINGLE Testimony of an Author, who lived above 2000 Years after the Fact. It cannot be expected that in the New Testament every Circumstance relating to the Creation and Fall of Man should be mentioned; because it was not the business of its Authors to prove the Truth of the Literal Story, which no Jew doubted or made a Scruple to believe. But our Saviour and his Apostles, as their Argument led them, have expressly recited or plainly alluded to most of them in the following Passages.

St. Paul says in 1 Cor. xv. 47. that *Adam* was formed out of the *Earth*: and in 1 Tim. ii. 13. that *Adam* was first formed, then *Eve*, and in 1 Cor. xi. 8. that the *Woman* was ἐξ ἀνδρός of the *Man*, i. e. formed out of him; which manifestly supposes the Story of *Eve's* Formation out of *Adam's Rib*, to have been literally true; tho' You with your most Interpreters would have it wholly Allegorical. Our blessed Saviour in Matt. xix. when he had cited *Moses's* Words concerning the Divine Institution of Marriage, *For this Cause shall a Man leave Father and Mother, and shall cleave to his Wife: and they twain shall be one Flesh*; draws this Inference from those Words, *Wherefore they are no more twain but one Flesh: What therefore God has join'd together, let no Man put asunder*; building his Argument plainly upon the Letter of what *Moses* had said, and asserting his Words to be the Words of God. Again in John viii. 44 he says that the *Devil* was a Murderer from the beginning and abode not in the Truth, and St. Paul says, 2 Cor. xi. 3. that the *Serpent* beguiled *Eve* thro' his Subtilty: Both in plain Allusion (I think) to the Literal Account which *Moses* gives us that a Lye

was told when the Serpent said *ye shall not surely die*, by which he caused the Ruin of our first Parents, and was a *Murderer from the beginning*; and these two Passages prove at the same time that the *Serpent* which thus spoke to them was animated and actuated by the Devil. Nay the very Circumstance of *Eve's* being deceived by the Serpent, and afterwards having persuaded her Husband to eat of the Fruit, is literally understood by St. Paul in 1 Tim. ii. 14. where he says that *Adam was not deceived, but the Woman being deceived was in the Transgression*, i.e. tho' both of them transgress'd, yet it was the Woman only which was *beguiled* into the Transgression by the Serpent.

I lay the greater Stress upon these Passages of the New Testament, because in almost all of them an Argument is drawn, for the Proof of something in Question, from the literal Story; which would never have been done, if Christ and his Apostles had not fully believed it, and which it would have been absurd to have done, if they had understood (as you do) *Adam, Eve* and the *Serpent* to mean in an Allegory, only the (a) *Mind of Man, the outward Senses and Lust or Pleasure*.

Upon the whole then of this Question I think, Sir, that as reasonable Men we *may*, and that as Christians we *must* allow the *Literal Story* of the *Creation and Fall of Man* to be a true one.

II. I come now to the other important Question, which your Cavils have made it necessary to examine, *Whether the Religion and Laws of Moses had a Divine Origin or not*.

You plead, p. 45. for the *Supposition of some Degree of Fiction as necessary to the solving the Diffi-*

culties of the Mosaic Writings; and this immediately after you have quoted *Eusebius* as asserting that *in the Books of Moses there are infinite Examples of this kind of Fictions contrived for the Benefit of the Multitude*. Thus by pleading for the Allowance of *some Degree of Fiction*, and including *infinite Examples* under that Degree, and at the same time not caring to let us know what part in your Opinion is free from *Fiction*; you give me, Sir, and all that I have talk'd with on the Subject too much Reason for suspecting that your Sentiments on this head are such as you cannot decently own: You declare indeed, p. 45. that the *Divine Origin of the Law and Inspiration of Moses is not to be resolved into Fiction and Political Lying*: But with this Declaration there are many Passages of your Defence that cannot possibly be reconciled: I shall therefore look upon it as necessary on this occasion to vindicate, against what you have said, the Truth of the *Inspiration of Moses and the Divine Origin of his Law*.

But before I begin this, it is proper to take notice of the Quotations which you have brought to countenance *Political Lying*, and to shew that *Moses* himself practised it.

Plato and *Plutarch* are two of your Authorities in favour of *Political Lying*: the Passages produced from both of them are misrepresented, as I could easily shew: but it is scarcely worth while; for they are Heathen Authorities, and you are welcome to them: I could more than double the Number of such Advocates for such a Cause. But are we Christians to form our Sentiments from the Heathen Moralists, when one end of Christianity was to rectify and improve their Morality?

The Authorities, which you produce from the Christian Writers, deserve indeed a distinct Consideration:

sideration: For you have discovered *Clemens of Alexandria* and *Eusebius* as saying that *Plato's Notion of the Use and Necessity of Publick Fables or Lyes* was suggested by what he had observed in the *Practice and Example of Moses*. Let us see how you make this out.

You cite, p. 45. *Clemens* as speaking of the *Art of Governing*, and saying, that the *Ends of Government* are to be served by persuading, or forcing, or injuring—or doing what is just, or lying, or telling the Truth as different Circumstances require: Examples of all which and how to use each of them properly, the Greeks to their great Advantage have borrowed from *Moses*. Thus you have represented the Sense of *Clemens* in this Passage; very differently from the true Sense of the Author, as I shall fully shew. There are many just Objections to be made to the several Parts of your Translation; but I shall wave them, and argue only upon the general Meaning and Intent of the Passage. *Clemens* had been particularizing *Moses's* Character as a *Lawgiver*, a *Prophet*, a *Philosopher*, and a *General*: in this Place he comes to consider him as a *General*, and therefore what he here says is not about the *Art of Governing*, but the Art and Skill of a *General*, a thing of another Nature than Political Conduct. He represents (a) the Skill of a *General* as consisting in *Caution*, *Boldness*, and something that is a *Mixture of both*: next, he instances in the several Means of serving

(a) Ἰδέαις ἐνέχεῖ τὸ στρατηγικὸν τέχνημα τεισὶν, ἀσφαλεῖ, ἀρραβό-
 λῳ καὶ τῷ ἐκ τέτων μικρῷ — ταῦτα ὃ ὑπάρξει πάντα ἐπι-
 τελεῖν ἢ πείθοντας — ἢ ψάδομαίνας — ἢ καὶ τέτων ἅμα τι-
 σὶν χρωμαίνας καὶ τὸ αὐτὸν χερόν· ταῦτα ὃ σύμπαντα καὶ τὸ
 πῶς δὲ χρῆσθαι τέτων ἐκάστω ἀπὸ Μωυσέως λαβόντες ἑλλωες
 ἀφ' ἑλμυ). Strom. I. p. 417.

these three Ends; among which he reckons *Lying* as one: and then he concludes with saying that *Examples of all these the Greeks to their great Advantage have borrowed from Moses*. By the Words *all these*, *Clemens* seems to have intended *Caution*, *Boldness*, &c. But if they refer to the several Means enumerated, of which *Lying* is one; yet it is plain that *Clemens* is not speaking here of what is practised towards Subjects, but towards Enemies or neighbouring States: and it is still plainer that he is not speaking of the *Art of Governing* a People by Laws but of the *Art of War*, of the Office, Skill, and Conduct of a General. This is confirmed by the Words of *Clemens*, which immediately follow your Quotation: (a) *For illustrating this Matter* (says he) *I will produce one or two Examples of his Skill as a General*: and then he sets forth the Instance of *Moses's* March out of *Egypt*; he represents him as making a Shew of taking the the nearest way to *Palæstine*; but, when he had advanced a little that way, wheeling off to the Right on a sudden, and leading his People directly to the *Red Sea*. From this Instance it appears, that *Clemens* by *Lying* means (b) *Lying in War*, or what we commonly call *Stratagems*, false Marches, false Lights, Spies, &c. and all the other Arts of deceiving an Enemy. And yet this Passage you have produced to shew, that *Plato* borrowed from *Moses* his *Notion of the*

(a) Τύπε δ' ἕνεκεν ἑνὸς ἢ καὶ δυτέρου ἐμπνηθήσομαι ἡγεδαιγμάτων στρατηγικῶν.

(a) Hence the Military Terms *κλδοπούρα* and *κλδδενέδρα*: and thus, when the Trojans were discovered to have Grecian Armour on, Virgil says

—primi clypeos mentitaque tela

Agnoscent Danai.

Æn. l. 2. v. 422.

Use and Necessity of Publick Fables or Lyes, to keep the People more religiously attach'd to an exact Observance of the Laws.

With *Eusebius* you have acted still more unfairly: You represent him, p 45 as saying that *in the Books of Moses there are infinite Examples of this kind of Fictions contrived for the Benefit of the Multitude.* But why do you quote this Author so imperfectly, as to leave out the very Words which explain his Meaning? The *Examples* which he brings from Scripture in Proof of what he had said, are such Expressions (a) as represent God to be *jealous, Angry*, and to exert other *human Passions*. And is there the least Resemblance between the true Sense of *Eusebius*, and that which you quote him for?

Thus much concerning your spurious Authorities for *Political Lying*, and for the Practice of it as supposed to be borrowed from *Moses*, where the Reader will observe that you have taken no care to express any Abhorrence or even Dislike of such Publick Frauds, tho' you have taken so much pains not only to find out but to make Authorities for countenancing them.

Let us come now to the Case of *Josephus* and the Passage out of his Discourse against *Apion*, Book 11. Chap. 16. which I once called your *Master-piece of Quotation*, and shall now prove to be your *Master-piece of Reasoning* too.

The Passage lies before the Reader in my Reply and in your Defence too: where you have

(a) Μυρία δ' ἂν εὐρήσεις τοιαῦτα καὶ ἐν Ἑβραίων γεγραῖς, ὥς ἂν πλεῖστὸς Θεὸς ζηλῶντις, ἢ ὑπνῶντις, ἢ ὀργιζομένης, ἢ τισὶν ἄλλοις ἀνθρωποπαθέσιν ἐνεχομένης, ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῶν δεινῶν τῶν τοιούτων τρόπων παρηρημένα. *Euseb. Prep. Evang.* l. 12. c. 31.

intended your Translation of those Places, in which I shew'd that you had stumbled and fallen into Mistakes; and now what is it that you do? Why, you still hold fast the *Inference* which you formerly drew from this Passage, and resolve to maintain against me or any Man else, that *Josephus* here does not insist upon any Supernatural or Divine Authority of *Moses*, but puts him upon the same foot with *Minos* and other Lawgivers of Greece, and gives him the Preference only on the Comparison for the superior Excellency of his Laws; (a) and you have collected from his Antiquities, that his real Sentiments of the Divine Inspiration of *Moses* are very little different from what they are in this Passage against *Apion*. (b)

The contrary of all this I think my self able to prove clearly; and hope to convince any unprejudiced Reader, if I shew, what the View of *Josephus* was in writing his *Antiquities of the Jews*, and his Discourse against *Apion*, particularly that part of it in Dispute; if I shew further, That your Interpretation of it contains several visible Difficulties and Absurdities; That, notwithstanding all you have said and explain'd to the contrary, *Josephus* does there plainly shew that he believed *Moses's* Divine Authority; and lastly, That very many Passages may be produced from those and other Works of his, which in clear and express Terms declare for *Moses's* Inspiration and the Divine Origin of the Jewish Law.

To begin with the first: It is plain that neither his Books of the *Antiquities* nor those against *Apion* were written with any view to make Converts to *Judaism*; but only to give the *Greeks*, and chiefly the *Romans*, a favourable Opinion of the Jewish Nation. Consider the Condition in

which *Josephus* then stood; a Pensioner of the *Roman Court*, a *Jew* at the Mercy of Heathens, enjoying his Maintenance, his Liberty, and even his Life wholly by their Favour; his Country ruined, his Country-men every where scattered, and distressed, and odious above all other People in the Universe. In such Circumstances like a Lover of his Nation and Religion, he set himself to writing that he might vindicate the Antiquity of his Nation, the Excellency of its Form of Government, and the Purity of its Worship and Religion. And at such a time, under such Disadvantages, would it have been thought prudent in him, would it have been Safe for him, to have insisted strongly on the Reality of *Moses's* Miracles and the Divine Authority of the *Jewish* Religion? Would it have been Wisdom to have press'd those things so far as to expect that his Readers should and must acknowledge the Truth of them? such an Attempt would have been no less than an open Disparagement of the *Roman* Religion, and of their Laws too, which were borrowed from the *Grecian* Lawgivers.

For this reason it was that in many Parts of his *Antiquities*, when he had related a Miracle (as particularly that of the Passage of the *Israelites* thro' the *Red Sea*), he leaves his Readers, who were Heathens, to think of it as they pleased, without exacting from them any full Belief of the Story. *Herodotus* does the same frequently, and uses the same way of expressing himself, as *Josephus* does, even upon Points, where he declares his own Opinion and Belief. *Plutarch* likewise in the Life of *Numa*, when he had expressed his full Belief of *Numa's* real Inspiration, and had acquainted his Readers that there was another Story which represented it as a thing pretended only, says πλαταῖα κίλδος, *the way is broad, i. e.*
let

let every one think of this Matter as he pleases.

Josephus in his Books against *Apion* had the same Views as in his *Antiquities*; but besides them he had the Objections of the Adversaries of the *Jews* to answer and refute: Such as deny'd the Antiquity of his Nation he replies to in the first Book against *Apion*; and in the second after having examined some other unjust Clamours, which that vain Author had rais'd against the *Jews*, he (a) proceeds to confute the Calumnies of *Apollonius Molo*, who had represented *Moses* as a Deceiver and Impostor, and his Laws as making Men worse instead of better. What should *Josephus* have done in Answer to this heavy Charge? Should he have drawn out a long List of *Moses's* Miracles, and have urged these against Objectors, who were not only Heathens but prejudiced Persons? No, he takes a Method more likely to succeed: he knew that he was going to tread on very dangerous ground, and that the Comparison which he was obliged to make between the *Jewish* Laws and those Laws which his Readers were governed by, was at best an Invidious thing; and therefore by a prudent and dextrous Preface he endeavours to prepare the way for his Vindication of *Moses* and the *Jewish* Laws: Twice at least he apologizes for the Comparison which he makes; he lays it (b) upon Necessity, Self-defence, and the Importunity of the *Jewish* Adversaries. And when he might hope that the Reader was thus softened and won to the favourable side, he begins with observing two things; (c) The one, that such Nations as had lived the longest under Laws

(a) *Contra Apion.* l. 2, c. 14.

(b) *Ib.* l. 2, c. 14.

(c) *Ib.* c. 15.

and good Discipline were the most civilized; the other, that all Nations were fond of representing their Form of Government to be very Ancient. He then shews that *Moses* was more Ancient than any of the *Grecian* Lawgivers, and from thence proceeds to compare the *Jewish* Laws with those of the Heathen Nations. In his Account of *Moses* he wholly omits the mention of his Miracles; which, for the Reasons before assign'd, it would not have been prudent for him to have insisted on. But he asserts the Divine Authority of *Moses* and argues for it first from the Greatness and Disinterestedness of his Actions, and then from the Advantage which his Laws had on the Comparison with those of *Minos* and the other Lawgivers: From both which he himself drew this Conclusion, and intended to insinuate it into his Readers, that *Moses* was no Deceiver or Impostor, but one who reasonably believ'd that he had God for his Guide and Counsellor. This is the plain Sense and Substance of the Place now under Examination.

Let us next see what Difficulties and Absurdities you are forced upon in your way of understanding the Passage; which (according to you, p. 26.) puts *Moses* upon the very same foot with *Minos* and the other Lawgivers, and gives him the Preference, only on the Comparison for the superior Excellency of his Laws.

Josephus says of *Moses*, that he thought it necessary above all things to instill into the People a Notion of his doing all things agreeable to the Will of God: Upon this you tell us, p. 32. That *Josephus* could not here intend to persuade us, that this was done by the help of real Miracles, but by pretending to Miracles where there really were none, and by deceiving the People by a Shew of something like them into an Opinion that they were actually done. According to this Explanation of the Words, what an extraor-

extraordinary Defence does *Josephus* make of *Moses*? How likely was it to take off the Objections of an Adversary, whose very Cry against *Moses* was, that he was a *Deceiver and Impostor*? Nay your Comment makes *Josephus* own it, even while he is denying it; for from these Words, which you explain as implying Deceit in *Moses*, he presently after draws this Inference, that *Moses* was no *Deceiver, no Impostor*.

In p. 33. you explain *Josephus's* Words *not an Impostor*, to mean *one who did not deceive them for his Gain and Advantage*, but who having formed the best body of Laws, had the best Pretence to deceive the People with the Notion of his being assisted by God, p. 36. So that according to your way of explaining *Josephus's* Mind, *Moses* was not a Deceiver, tho' a Deceiver, because he was a Deceiver for their Good. This new Notion of Deceit *Josephus* would have heartily abhorred; and perhaps the Person, who should have imputed it to Him, he would have handled like another *Apion*.

Again you say, p. 34. that *hardly a Greek of Sense believed their Lawgivers to be really inspired; all that they admired was, that they had the Address to persuade the People that those Laws were dictated by the Gods*: So that among the People there was *hardly a Man of Sense*, it seems: this will never be believed, tho' we have your Word for it; unless you will undertake to prove that by Believing they forfeited their Character of *Sense*: and after all may'nt one ask where the great *Address* of these Lawgivers was, who could persuade none but *Fools* to receive their Laws as Divine?

In the Number of Difficulties, to which your Explanation of *Josephus's* Words reduces you, I reckon your translating Θεκρατίαν ἀπὲρδ' αἰξ, by *he made his Government a Theocracy*, p. 37. whereas it plainly signifies

signifies here what the old *Latin* Interpreter rendered it *declaravit*, he declared it to be, he proposed and delivered it as a *Theocracy*. You ask whether it is in the power of any Mortal to make a *Theocracy*? No certainly, unless by Divine Warrant. But when the Words are rendered as above, they are very far from *clinching the whole*, as you express it. They shew nothing of any authoritative *Act* or *Deed* in *Moses*, but that of a Deputy only; not that he *made*, but only *promulged* the Laws, which he gave to the People; signifying to them that God himself intended to preside over the Government. The Word ἀπέφηνε is exactly of the same import with ἀπέδειξε, and *Josephus* says a little lower, that *Moses* ἀπέφηνε Θεὸν ἀγέννητον declared God to have been from all Eternity: would it not be absurd here to translate it, as if *Moses made God Eternal*?

But enough of these: I could enlarge the Number considerably, but thus much may serve as Specimen for the Reader's perusal, while I hasten to the next Point which was to shew that in this very Passage *Josephus* ascribes a *Divine Authority* to *Moses's* Laws, and puts him upon a different foot from *Minos* and the other *Grecian* Lawgivers, in other respects besides that of the Comparison of their Laws. Let us first consider the Words, *he reasonably believed that he had God for his Guide and σύμβουλον Counsellor*. I ask you, Sir, whether the Word σύμβουλος here does not imply an actual Communication of the Will of God? whether in any good *Greek* Author the mere acting agreeably to the presum'd Will of any Man, be enough to denominate that Man a σύμβουλος in that Matter? συμβουλεύειν, when spoken of Equals, signifies to give Advice; when of Superiors (as here), to communicate their Mind or Will, and consequently to be the Authors of that in which they are σύμβουλοι. Thus

Thus, I think, all Writers use the Word, but I am sure, that *Josephus* uses it so twice within a few Lines of this very Passage. He says of *Moses*, that he was an excellent σύμβουλος Counsellor, and a most wise σύμβουλος Counsellor to the People: where he must certainly mean, that he communicated his Mind to the People; not meerly that the People acted agreeably to what they thought he intended they should do. From this Observation it may be inferr'd, that the Phrase κατὰ τὴν θεῶν βούλησιν, which follows in the next Sentence, should be render'd, not (as you render it) *agreeably to the Will of God*, but *by the Will of God*, by his Direction, by a Signification of his Will to *Moses*. So you render'd it your self in your *Letter*, tho' in your *Defence* you have thought fit to change it for the other Translation, which does not so strongly imply *Moses's* acting here by the Divine Will and Direction.

A second Proof is this: *Josephus*, when he speaks of *Moses*, says expressly, that *Moses* acted reasonably in believing that he had God for his Guide and σύμβουλον Counsellor, and that he was persuaded of his acting and directing all things by the Will of God: but when the same *Josephus* speaks of *Minos* and others as attributing the Origin of their Laws to *Apollo* and *Jupiter*, he affirms nothing expressly against it; but leaves their Authority to rest upon the two current Reports, *i. e.* of either their really believing so themselves, or fancying by that means to make the People submit to them the more easily. Is this putting *Moses* upon the same foot with *Minos* and the others? Is there not plainly a Doubt intimated in the one Case, and is there any shadow of a Doubt so much as hinted at in the other? The thing speaks for it self: and all that *Josephus* can mean by what he says of *Minos*, &c. is to guard against giving any offence

fence to his Heathen Readers, who had receiv'd those Laws as given from Heaven.

In farther proof of this Point, I insisted in my first *Reply* (and still do) upon the word $\alpha\upsilon\chi\tilde{\sigma}\iota$ as intended by *Josephus* to mean a *boasting without foundation for it*, and to insinuate covertly that the Inspiration of *Minos* and the other Lawgivers was only a *pretended* one. This I assert to be the common and usual; the first and proper Sense of the Word: But you (a) call this *distinction childish and ridiculous*, and say that from the use of Language and common Sense $\alpha\upsilon\chi\tilde{\epsilon}\iota\nu$, when apply'd (as here) to Men famous in their Generations, can have no other Sense than to be proud of or celebrate with Praise. Strange, that you could thus mistake! the Construction here is not $\alpha\upsilon\chi\tilde{\sigma}\iota$ Μίνω, but $\alpha\upsilon\chi\tilde{\sigma}\iota$ Μίνω γεγόνεναι: where this Verb is join'd with another of the Infinitive Mood, and the Word $\alpha\upsilon\chi\tilde{\epsilon}\iota\nu$ in such Construction must signify to *boast of a thing without ground for it*. The very first Example of the Sense of $\alpha\upsilon\chi\tilde{\epsilon}\iota\nu$ in *Steph. Lexicon* shews that *Thucydides* uses the Word so; (b) when they have beaten some of us, they boast (or pretend) that they have routed us all: but according to your way of construing, it is, they are proud of us all, they celebrate us all with praise. That $\alpha\upsilon\chi\tilde{\sigma}\iota$ in this passage was intended by *Josephus* to imply a *pretence* only, appears from his using the Word to signify so (c) elsewhere; but more plainly from comparing what is said afterwards of *Minos* and the other Lawgivers with what was said before of *Moses*. Of *Moses* he had peremptorily declar'd that he had God for his

(a) Def. p. 34.

(b) Κρατήσαντες τινος ἡμῶν, πάντας αὐχῆσιν ἀπεῶδον.

(c) Περὶ ᾧ τ' Ἀρχάδων, τὶ δὲ λέγειν αὐχένων ἀρχαίότη-
τα, &c. Contr. Apion. l. i. c. 4.

Counsellor; of *Minos* and the others he makes a Doubt, whether they had a divine immediate Assistance, or only pretended to it; so that *Josephus*, consistently with himself, could not make the Comparison between what *Moses* and They were; but only between what He *was*, and They *boasted* or *pretended* to be.

These three Proofs then, drawn from the Passage in Dispute between us, are sufficient to overthrow your Assertion, That *Josephus* does not here ascribe a Divine Authority to *Moses*, but puts him upon the same foot with *Minos* and the other Law-givers.

I now come to the last Point, which will abundantly strengthen the preceding Proofs, and shew that *Josephus* in this Discourse against *Apion* and in his other Works has fully, explicitly and frequently declar'd his Belief of *Moses's* Inspiration and the Divine Origin of his Law.

In the first Book against *Apion*, he says, that (a) the Prophets, the only Writers of the Sacred Books, when they wrote of the ancient times learn'd their Account by Divine Inspiration: that (b) the XXII. Books, which make up the Jewish Canon, were justly believ'd to be Divine ones; five of which were written by *Moses*; and that (c) God gave Testimony to the Virtue and Excellency of *Moses*.

In his *Antiquities*, *Josephus* expresses himself still plainer on the Article of *Moses's* Inspiration and the Divine Authority of the Law: mentioning the

(a) Μόνων τῶν Περρητῶν τὰ μὲν ἀνωτάτω καὶ ἀρχαῖότατα καὶ τὰ ἐπίπνυον ἔκ τῆς Θεᾶς μαθήσαντες. §. 7.

(b) Δύο δὲ μόνον πρὸς ἑκοσι βιβλία, τὰ πάντες χεῖρας ἔχοντες ἀναγεγραμμένα, τὰ δὲ δικαίως Θεῶν πιστεύονται καὶ τῶν τέτταρσι μὲν οὖν τὰ Μωυσέως. c. 8.

(c) Τῷ δὲ τῇ ἀρετῇ πάσαις ὁ Θεὸς μάλιστα εὖρηται γενησθαι.

Commandments which *Moses* receiv'd from God, he says, that (a) *the Hand-writing of them was God's*. When he describes what happen'd at the giving of the Law from Mount Sinai, he says, (b) *that the Thunders and Lightnings shew'd that God was present* : and he says, (c) *that all the Jews heard the Voice (of God) from Heaven, pronouncing all the Commandments, which Moses left with them in the two Tables of Stone*. When he represents *Moses* as about to deliver his Laws to the People, he makes him say that (d) *they were such as God had dictated to him* ; and that *Josephus* himself thought the same of them with what *Moses* said, appears both from what he adds soon after, that *Moses* published his Laws to the People (e) *as he had received each of them from God* : and from his speaking (f) *elsewhere in the same Words, and saying that God dictated to Moses the Laws which he enacted*. To support this farther as the real Sentiment of *Josephus*, it is remarkable that he speaks, in another place, of some who (g) *had no good-will to the Jews, and yet confessed, that it was God who had established their Government by the means of Moses*.

In his Discourse upon the *Machabees*, he commends *Eleazar* and the seven Brethren for suffer-

(a) Ἡ χεὶρ ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ γεγραπῇ τῷ Θεῷ. Antiq. l. 3. c. 5. Sect. 8.

(b) Ἦ δὴ λέγει τὴν παρεσίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ. l. 3. c. 5. Sect. 2.

(c) Πάντες ἤκουον φωνῆς ὑψόθεν παραγγελλούσης εἰς ἅπαντας, ὥστε διαστυγῆν μηδένα τῶν λόγων, ὥς Μωϋσῆος, &c. ib. Sect. 4.

(d) Συνέθηκεν ὑμῖν καὶ νόμους, παραγορεύσασαί τις μοι Θεὸς, καὶ πολιτείας. Antiq. l. 4. c. 8. Sect. 2.

(e) Ὡς ἐκασὸν τι παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ πύθοιτο.

(f) Ταῦτα μάλιστα καὶ τὴν ὑπαγορεύσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ σωειτάττετο. l. 3. c. 8. Sect. 8.

(g) Ὡς καὶ τοὺς μισῶντας ἡμᾶς ὁμολογεῖν, ὅτι τὴν πολιτείαν ἡμῖν ὁ κατασησάμενός ἐστι Θεὸς διὰ Μωϋσέως.

ing the most cruel Death rather than depart from the *Laws of God*; and breaking out into a pathetic Admiration of *Eleazar's* Constancy, he calls him a Lover of the *Divine Word*: and indeed this whole Discourse upon the *Machabees* has neither Force nor Sense in it, if *Josephus* had not fully believed the Jewish Laws, for which they suffer'd, to be of Divine Authority.

These Passages (a few out of many) may suffice to shew the Rashness of your Assertion, or the Negligence of your reading, who profess, p. 40. to have collected even from *Josephus's Books of Antiquities*, that his real Sentiments of the divine Inspiration of *Moses* was very little different from what is represented above, i. e. that they were against the Reality of such Inspiration, and ascribed it all to pretence only; for this is all which you, it seems, are able to gather from the above-mention'd Passage in the Book against *Apion*.

I must not here omit a Quotation, which you have made, pag. 40. from those Books of *Jewish Antiquities*; and which you seem to look upon as a clear proof, that *Josephus* could not have believed one at least of the *Miracles*, recorded by *Moses*, to have been really and strictly effected by God, in the very manner; that the literal Text imports. It is in what follows the Story, which *Josephus* tells, of the miraculous Passage of the *Israelites* thro' the *Red Sea* according to the Scripture Account of it; after which he adds, *Let no Man be surpriz'd at the strangeness of this, that an ancient and innocent People should find a Way opened for their Escape thro' the Sea, either by the Will of*

(a) Ὑπὲρ ἧς Θεῶ νόμων ἕως θανάτου πόνων καταφρονήσαντες.
Sect. 1.

(b) Φιλόσοφοι θεῖον λόγον. Sect. 7.

God, οἱ κατ' αὐτόματον of its own accord ; since in a like Case as it were of Yesterday the Pamphilian Sea retir'd before Alexander, and opened him a Passage, (a) when God had determined to put an end to the Persian Empire. From whence you infer, p. 41. that Josephus could not believe the absolute Inspiration of the Sacred Writings, because (as you think) he left it in doubt, whether this Faët had any thing miraculous in it or not : but nothing in this Passage, rightly considered, satisfies me that he speaks of this matter as a doubtful Point with Himself. In the preceeding Section, he says, that the Jews (b) had God visibly assisting them : this is directly asserting the Miracles : and whatever Josephus meant by αὐτόματον, yet thus much is certain, that he looked upon God as directing and interposing in both Cases, in the Passage of the Israelites thro' the Red Sea, and of Alexander thro' the Pamphilian Sea ; for of this last, he says, God having determined, &c. So that what happened to Alexander was (according to Josephus) in consequence of that Divine Resolution ; and this plainly enough supposes an especial Providence of God in Alexander's Case. Some are of Opinion, that the Words εἴτε καὶ ἢ βέλησιν Θεῷ, εἴτε κατ' αὐτόματον, may be understood, not as opposing a Miracle to a Natural Cause ; but as implying only some difference in the manner of the Divine Interposition : But if not, they must be allow'd to mean, not that Josephus doubted about the Miracle, but that he would not insist upon it (tho' he firmly believ'd it) to those of his Readers who were ready enough to dispute it, and perhaps ridicule it. For if Josephus had himself doubted of the Miracle, he need not have call'd upon his Rea-

(a) Καταλῦσαι ἢ Περσῶν ἡγεμονίαν τῷ Θεῷ δειλήσαντι.

(b) Τὸν Θεὸν ἔτις ἐναργῶς ἐχούσας βοηθεῖν.

ders not to be surpriz'd at the Strangeness of it; he might better have confessed, that there was nothing strange in it, nothing but what was owing to your accidental Concurrence of natural Causes.

And here it must not be forgotten that you pretend to have found *Philo* in the very same way of thinking, as you represent *Josephus* to have been in; i. e. expressing a Doubt whether *Moses* received his Laws from God or not. The Words of *Philo* which you produce, pag. 41. are these; *Whatever he dictated to them, whether he contrived and invented it himself, or had received it from the Deity, they imputed it all to God.* This is one Passage, from whence you insinuate, that it is reasonable to allow some Liberty of thinking as to the Divinity of the Sacred Books, pag. 42. But *Philo's* Words, when rightly considered, give no Colour for any such Allowance. They are part of a Fragment of that Author preserved by *Eusebius*; and *Eusebius* tells us, that *Philo* is here defending the *Jews*, against their Accusers. *Philo* begins with saying, (a) *We will consider Moses, if you please, as differing in nothing from other Men: i. e. as not having any Divine Assistance.* Having thus set him at the lowest, he argues, that he must have been an excellent Man, because of the many great and wise Things which he did for the Benefit of the People. Then he speaks of the *Jews*, who submitted themselves so unanimously to his Conduct for such a length of Years, and amidst such pressing Difficulties, as they met with in the Wilderness: and he infers, that either they must have been a regular tractable and civiliz'd People in their Nature, or they must have been rendered such by the Providence of God: and which soever (says he) of

(a) Εἰς ἑδὲν τῶ πολλῶν, εἰ βέλαι, διάφορος. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 8. c. 6.

the two Suppositions you will take, it will turn out for the Honour and Credit of the Jews. And then in the Passage under Examination, he concludes with saying, that (a) whatever Moses dictated to them, whether he contrived it himself, or received it from the Deity to give them, the Jews now impute it all to God, tho' above 2000 Years are passed; they have not alter'd so much as one Word of what he left in Writing, and would die many Deaths rather than act contrary to the Laws and Customs which he established. You see here, that Philo's Point was not to give his Opinion about the Divine Authority of Moses; but to shew the Virtue of his Nation, which so early submitted to Laws, and so long adhered to them: and this was equally proved, whether Moses had a Divine Authority, or not; it was proved even upon the Supposition (which Philo made for the sake of Argument only) that Moses differed in nothing from other Men, with respect to any supernatural Assistance. Let this Passage therefore, thus grossly misrepresented, be no more brought in favour of allowing Christians a Liberty of thinking, &c. but let them rather remember that Philo's Sentiments about Moses's Inspiration may be clearly seen, when he says, that Moses (b) was taught many of the most abstruse Parts of natural Knowledge by the Answers of God; that (c) he wrote the Sacred Books from the Dictates of God; that he spake by a Divine Spirit; and that his Laws were truly and really Divine ones.

(a) Εἴτε ἐν λελογισμένῳ αὐτῶν, εἴτε ἀκάν παρὰ δαίμονα ἔσχεσε, τὸτο ἅπαν εἰς τὸ Θεὸν ἀνάγειν καὶ πλαιῖνον ἐστὶν διεληλῶ-θότων ——— ρηδὲ ῥῆμα γε αὐτὸς μόνον τὸ ὑπὸ αὐτῶ γεγενημένον κινήσαι, &c. *ibid.*

(b) Χρησμοῖς τὰ πολλὰ καὶ σωμικρικώτατα τὸ φύσεως ἀνα-διδασχθεῖς. *De Opif. Mundi. p. 2.*

(c) *De vit. Mosi, l. 2. p. 655, 656, 664.*

But enough of this: we have seen from *Josephus's* profess'd Design in composing his several Works, that his Business was not to insist too much upon the Miracles of *Moses*; That in the Passage (which I have been examining) your Interpretation of it carries great Difficulties, and even Absurdities along with it: That the Passage it self, well considered, speaks in favour of the *Divine Authority of the Mosaic Law*; and that many other Passages in *Josephus's* Books against *Apion* and in his *Jewish Antiquities* are exprels and clear to the same Purpose.

There remains nothing therefore, to shew that we ought not to entertain moderate and qualified Sentiments about the Divine Origin of the Jewish Law, and the Inspiration of its Founder *Moses*, except the Testimony of *Christ* and his *Apostles*, who expressly assert it, as I am going to shew. And this Testimony of *Theirs* must be allow'd as sufficient Proof by you, who in pag. 4. declare your self a true Friend to Christianity; and therefore I shall conclude these Sheets with shewing that those Sentiments, which you sometimes propose as *Josephus's*, but which by pleading for openly and earnestly, and even by approving and recommending to your Readers you make your Own, are directly contrary to what we are taught in the Books of the New Testament, which as a Christian you must believe to be Sacred and Divine.

The Writers of the New Testament do very often appeal to the Books of *Moses* as containing not only Types but (a) Prophecies of our Saviour, and represent our Saviour himself as insisting up-

(a) Luke xxiv. 27, 44. John i. 45. Acts iii. 22. xxvi. 22. and xxviii. 23.

on the same kind of Proof to shew that he was (a) the Prophet foretold by *Moses*; the plain Consequence of which is that *Moses* was inspir'd.

Our Saviour builds (b) an Argument for the Resurrection of the Dead upon the Literal Truth of God's really appearing to *Moses* in the burning Bush and saying, *I am the God of Abraham, &c.* which Words he calls God's Words, and which, if they had not been, his Argument would have been unconvulsive. The miraculous Passage of the *Israelites* thro' the *Red Sea* is acknowledged by the Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* (c) who says that *by Faith they passed thro' the Red Sea as by dry Land*; where the Miracle is necessarily imply'd in that Passage and is ascribed to *Faith*. The same Writer says, that God (d) *spake to Moses* and to the *Jews* from the top of *Sinai*, and that *his Voice shook the Earth*. We are told that (e) *Moses was admonished by God, when he was about to make the Tabernacle, to make all things according to the Pattern shew'd him in the Mount*. It is said that the *Jewish* (f) *Law* was ordained by *Angels* in the hand of a *Mediator* (*Moses*), and that it was the (g) *Word* spoken by *Angels*. Our Saviour calls one of those Ten Commandments, which *Moses* at first delivered to the *Jews*, the *Commandment of God*, (h) and the *Word of God*. And the Laws of *Moses*, by which the Judges were to determine Causes, he calls (i) the *Word of God*. St. Paul citing one of the Laws, viz. (k) *Thou shalt not muzzle the Mouth of the Ox that treadeth out the*

(a) *John* v. 46, 47. (b) *Matth.* xxii. 31, 32.

(c) *Hebr.* xi. 30. (d) *Hebr.* xii. 16, 25, 26.

(e) *Hebr.* viii. 5. (f) *Gal.* iii. 19. (g) *Heb.* ii. 2.

(h) *Mark* vii. 9, 13. (i) *John* x. 35.

(k) *1 Cor.* ix. 9.

Corn, plainly affirms the *Divine Origin* of it in what he adds, *Does God take care for Oxen?* and the whole Law of *Moses*, his Code or Body of Laws, is frequently stiled (a) *the Law of the Lord*, and bears the Title of (b) *the Oracles of God*.

You profess, p. 72. to think it a Point fundamental and necessary to be believed by all Christians, that while a Man is under the actual Influence and Direction of the Holy Ghost, he must at the same time be infallible and superior to all Error, or else Christianity cannot be defended. This you say with respect to what St. Stephen taught in *Act. vii.* when full of the Holy Ghost; and that this is a fundamental Point, I readily agree (with Exception only as to the mention of such Facts, as are not recorded in Scripture, and have no relation in the least to that Doctrine, for the teaching of which St. Stephen was filled with the Holy Ghost): However as you allow no Exception to be made, and hold St. Stephen to have been then superior to all Error, give me leave to offer his Testimony upon the Point in Question, as what must satisfy You and does entirely satisfy Me, because it relates to Points which have a Connexion with Christianity.

St. Stephen then full of the Holy Ghost, declares That (c) the Angel of God appeared to Moses in the Bush, that God sent him to be a Ruler and Deliverer of the Israelites, that Moses (d) shewed Wonders and Signs in the Land of Egypt and in the Red Sea: Here the Truth and Reality of Moses's Divine Authority is asserted, and the miraculous Passage thro' the Red Sea is attested, by one whom you acknowledge superior to all Error. And the same infallible Speaker assures us ver. 38. that

(a) *Luke ii. 23, 24, 39.*(b) *Rom. iii. 2.*(c) *Acts vii. 35.*(d) *Ib. 36.*

Moses received from the Angel that spake unto him the lively Oracles, which he gave unto the Jews; so that you have his Testimony for the Divine Origin of the Jewish Law. Nay, that the Tabernacle it self was erected by an immediate Order of God, and by a Pattern given from Heaven, we have the clear Authority of the same St. Stephen, who says ver. 44. that the Tabernacle of Witness in the Wilderness was, as God had appointed, speaking unto Moses, that he should make it according to the Fashion that he had seen (i. e. which was shew'd him in the Mount): With such a Testimony as this, Sir, you will not easily reconcile what in your humour of sporting you say, p. 38. that I may believe if I please, that Moses with all his Wisdom was not able to direct the building a Chapel or the making a Candlestick and Snuffers, but by Divine Inspiration and after a Model given by God.

Upon a review of what I have said in favour of these two Points, *The literal Truth of the Mosaic Story about the Creation and Fall of Man; and the Divine Origin of the Jewish Law with the real Inspiration of its Founder Moses; I am in some hopes that what has been offered may be satisfactory to your self, and to the Readers, if any of them had entertained qualify'd Sentiments about those important Points. If I have in any part of my Argument imputed Sentiments to you, which you really have not, I am very ready to do you Justice, whenever you shall make it appear that what you have said (not only in Josephus's Name, but in your own) did not necessarily lead me to believe that they ought to be imputed to you: However you have it in your Power to vindicate your self by a full and strong, an open and explicit Account of your Thoughts on these Matters. If I know my self, I am far from being prepossess'd with senseless Systems, and darken'd with Prejudices,*

nor will any (I believe) that know me, rank me in your List of *rash and dogmatical Divines*, especially of *thorough-pac'd* ones, in the opprobrious Sense which you seem to intend by that Expression. But (whatever Appellations I run the Hazard of) I cannot subscribe to a Belief, which you seem to have, that such Points as these are the *weak Out-works of Christianity*, which ought to be *demolished*, as *erving only for Shelter and Lodgment to the Enemy*, whence to *batter it more effectually*, p. 3. Weak or strong, they have a necessary Connexion with Christianity, and cannot possibly be *demolished*, tho' they may basely be quitted: but if they are quitted and given up to the *Enemy*, will they less *serve for his Shelter and Lodgment*? Will he not, when in possession of them, *more effectually batter Christianity* from such *Works* as are so closely join'd to its *firm and natural Entrenchments*? If we are to judge by what is seen in War, we must determine quite otherwise than you do: For a skilful Commander always takes care to defend his *Out-works* while he can; and it is generally concluded, that when they are given up or lost, the Body of the Town is not likely to hold out long. But, after all, Sir, where is the Justness of your Similitude, since the Defence of Christianity can never be compared with the Defence of a Town? We can give up nothing that we think a part of our Religion: It is not left to our Prudence or Policy, to our Skill or our Strength to make new *Out-works*, or *demolish* old ones: Whatever the Word of God has taught us is a part of the Body of the Town, which we are trusted with the Defence of, not by *Political Lying*, not by the Falsehoods of Quotation, but by Appeals to the Holy Scriptures of God, and by the honest Application of those Aids, which we borrow from human Learning. If you had thus defended the

side

side which you took in this Dispute, I should have look'd upon our Controversy as a mere difference in Judgment, as a free and serious Inquiry on both sides : But when at every Step I found and still find you misquoting the Words and misrepresenting the Sense of Authors, it is not in my power (I confess) to think you a fair and impartial Writer. Should you therefore once more appear in publick upon this Subject, let me advise you to examine your Authorities more carefully, and to offer nothing which cannot honestly be defended. This will be Justice to Truth and the Publick: It will be Credit and Repute to your self, for whose natural Abilities I have some Esteem, and should have more, were it not abated by a View of your Application of them. In this Advice I shew how much I am,

S I R,

Your sincere Well-Wisher, &c.

F I N I S.



SOME
REMARKS
ON A
REPLY
TO THE
DEFENCE of the LETTER
TO
Dr. *WATERLAND*.

Wherein the Author's Sentiments, as to all the principal Points in Dispute, are fully and clearly explained in the Manner that has been promised.

The Intendment of my Discourse is, that Permission should be in Questions speculative, indeterminable, curious and unnecessary; and that Men would not make more Necessities than God made; which indeed are not many. The Fault I find and seek to remedy is, that Men are so dogmatical and resolute in their Opinions, and impatient of other's Disagreements in those Things, where there are no sufficient Means of Union and Determination: but that Men should let Opinions and Problems keep their own Forms, and not be obtruded as Axioms; nor Questions in the vast Collection of the System of Divinity be adopted into the Family of Faith: and I think I have Reason to desire this.

Taylor Lib. of Prophes. Ep. Dedic. p. 12.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. PEELE, at Lock's-Head in Amen-Corner. MDCCXXXII. Price 1 s.



SOME
REMARKS
ON A
REPLY
TO THE
DEFENCE of the LETTER
TO
Dr. *WATERLAND*.

S I R,

YOU begin your Reply by observing ;
that it was near twelve months before
the Defence of my Letter appeared in
print : yet you make no exceptions, you say,
to the length of time. To what purpose then
do you set out with an observation so im-
pertinent ? Why ; to introduce another
much more so ; that a longer time would have
past, before you could have prevailed with your
self to have published such a Defence. And
for that matter, you need not be in any

pain; every reader, I dare say, will allow it; that had you taken *twice twelve months*, it would not have been in your power to have produced *such an one*.

The next paragraph gives us a taste of *your vanity*: for you cannot hold out *ten lines*, without informing the reader, that you have forced me to *recant* and *plead guilty* to the charge of a *false quotation*: and lest it should be forgotten, you repeat it a few pages after, and once more *renew your triumph* over me ¹. And here, whatever credit it gives you, or whatever shame it brings to myself, I must confess it to be true; that I have *recanted*, and *owned myself guilty of quoting falsely*, as you say, or as others will think, *too negligently*, in one instance: and had it been proved upon me in many more, would have owned it as readily: nor am I desirous to give any check to your pleasure, by observing, that it was in a point of no consequence; for had it been of much greater, I should have retracted the more freely: the only use I shall make of it, is to shew the difference of your conduct and mine on this occasion: for pray, Sir, what is it in this controversy that you have retracted? Have you in any once instance *pleaded guilty*, or owned yourself confuted? No, you *insist upon it*, that you have advanced nothing rashly

¹ Reply to Defence, p. 25.

in your whole Reply ¹; *that you have made good every single instance of falshood charged upon me.*

As to the truth of what you *insist upon*; we shall be better able to judge of it by and by: in the mean while, as I am here considering the difference of your temper and mine, as to *pleading guilty* on fair conviction; I shall out of many instances, produce only *three* or *four*, in which you ought at least to have *pleaded guilty*; for if you have the Learning you pretend to, you must know yourself to be confuted; if the love of Truth and Religion, must know it your duty to confess it.

1. I had produced in *my Letter* a testimony of St. Stephen, to prove, that the *Ægyptians were possessed of learning in Moses's time* ². This testimony you treated with *such rashness*, as gave me occasion to charge you with overturning the very foundations and *betraying the very Citadel of Revealed Religion* ³; by supposing that a person *full of the Holy Ghost*, and under the *actual influence of a Divine Spirit*, could possibly assert any thing *erroneous*: and in this I was supported by the express declaration of Dr. Waterland himself, whose Defence you had undertaken.

¹ Reply to Defence, p. 3, 4.

² Letter, p. 23.

³ Defence, p. 71.

Now what do you reply to this? Why, nothing at all directly; but mutter only somewhat in a *parenthesis*¹; as if St. Stephen, when filled with the Holy Ghost, might yet consistently affirm what was false of facts, that have no relation to the Christian doctrine. Which is to allow in effect, that he might be full of the Holy Ghost, and full of error; full of truth, and full of falsehood too at the same time: a position, which no Christian will presume to defend; and which if I had but darkly hinted, the usual titles of *Free thinker* and *Infidel* would have been thought too soft for me. As in the case then of St. Stephen, all people were scandalized at your rashness; so your conduct would have been more edifying to the lovers of *Truth and Religion*, and more suitable to the zeal you pretend for both, had you endeavoured to repair that *Scandal*, by acknowledging your error, and pleading guilty to it; and not thro' a false pride and vanity, which every man must condemn, sought to bear down all before you, by insisting, that you have advanced nothing rashly.

2. As to the fact itself, of the *learning and politeness of the Ægyptians in Moses's time*: after all your cry against me for the falsehood of my historical facts, it proved at last the only one, in which you attempted to fix that

¹ Reply to Defence, p. 81.

charge upon me, by the help of what you call *Sir Isaac Newton's demonstrations and discoveries*; where he has, as you declare, *demonstrated my notions to be false*¹. In answer to this I have evinced the truth of my opinion so undeniably, from the testimony of *all history, both sacred and prophane*; that every reader, I dare say, is convinced of it, and you yourself in fact allow it, by *leaving me in possession of the question*². But you do it with so ill a grace, with so much reluctance and shuffling about it, as takes off all the credit of *a liberal and ingenuous concession*. For after you had *rashly advanced the authority of Sir Isaac above Scripture itself*, which cannot possibly be true, unless his *Demonstrations*, as you call them, be false; instead of taking any blame to yourself, you throw it all upon me, for exposing that rashness and defending Scripture: for you labour to raise a clamour and envy against me for *insulting Sir Isaac*; and with your *usual rhetorick* movingly exclaim, *how low is the great Newton fallen! how ignorant in your opinion!* I have already declared my opinion of him to be *as great*, as I can possibly have of any mortal: yet the honour I have for his name must not deprive me of the privilege of judging for myself in all questions, that I am

¹ Reply, p. 45.

² Reply to Defence, p. 42.

capable of understanding ; and of thinking differently even from *Sir Isaac*, or any man else, as oft as the force of reasons obliges me.

You dismiss the question by assuring me, that *whenever I shall be inclined to treat it more fully, there shall not want one, who will attempt to do justice to Sir Isaac's proofs* ; and with this promise you leave me, as you say, *in possession of it*. But is not this a poor childish evasion ; the stale shift of those, who having nothing to say or give, refer themselves to another time ? Will the reader believe, that you would have *left me in possession* of any thing, you could have wrested from me ? much less of a question, which bears the greatest shew of Learning, of any in the Controversy ; and of that *single historical Fact*, which you had charged me *with falsifying* ? if you had any real intention *to do justice to Sir Isaac's proofs*, why did you not do it here ; when it was your business to do it, when you were challenged to do it ? I have entered fully and freely into an examination of them ; have produced all I had to offer on the subject ; which, however *slight* you declare it to be, will be thought by every body else sufficient and effectual to confute you : nay, what's worse ; you plainly discover, that you think so yourself ; and stand condemned in your own mind, and punished by a *silly pride*, that will not give you leave to own yourself in the wrong.

3. You charged me *in your Reply*¹, with *falsly asserting the Golden Calf in the Wilderness to have been made in imitation of the Ægyptian Apis*; and affirmed withal, that there was *no ground in Scripture-story* for my notion². In answer to which I observed, that the God *Apis* was worshipped in the *same form*, and with the *same ceremonies* as the *Golden Calf*: and that I had with me the concurrence of all the learned, who had touched this question, as well as of the *most zealous and orthodox defenders of Christianity*. And from *Scripture-story* I shewed; that the *Idolatry*, by which the *Israelites* so often provoked God, is said to be such as *their Fathers had learned and practised in Ægypt*; that the *Idols* they were fond of, even at the time of making the *Golden Calf*, are described as *Ægyptian ones*; and that *St. Stephen* alledges this very case of the *Calf*, as an instance of their *turning back in their hearts into Ægypt*³. Now can there be *any greater rashness* in a *Scholar*, than roundly to deny what men of learning from the reason of the thing and the testimony of history have been obliged to assert? Can there be *any greater* in a *Divine*, than to affirm, that *there's no ground in Scripture-*

¹ Reply, p 46.

² Ibid. p. 47.

³ Defence, p. 83, 84. See Jerem. ii. 18. Ezek. xvi. 26. xxiii. 3, 8.

story, for what is so clearly confirmed by *many texts of Scripture*?

What then have you said to this in *your Reply*? Why, without giving any answer to *my Authorities*, or any other account of *my Scripture texts*; without alledging any *new Reasons*, or confuting the *old ones*; you stick firm to your point, and tell us plainly, that what you before said, *you still assert, that there are no grounds from Scripture-story, to think the Golden Calf to have been made in imitation of the Ægyptian Apis*¹. How is it possible to deal with such a Writer, whose maxim, as oft as confuted, is to *assert still, and insist that he has advanced nothing rashly*?

4. But the next instance is still the most flagrant. In *your Reply to my Letter*, you will mention, you say, *but one mistake more of mine under this article*: very modest truly, to mention *but one*, where with the same truth you might have mentioned *twenty*. The mistake is; that I had asserted on the authority of the learned, that *Hieroglyphicks or sacred Characters were used in Ægypt before Moses*: whereas you affirm, *Sir Isaac to have shewn, that they were not so much as invented till the reign of Rehoboam*¹. To this I answered, that *Sir Isaac* was so far from having shewn what you affirmed of him,

¹ Reply to Defence, p. 43.

² Reply, p. 48.

that he had directly shewn the contrary; had expressly allowed the very thing I asserted, that *Hieroglyphicks were in use in the days of Moses* ¹.

And what have you *replied* to this? not *one syllable*. But will not every one reflect on what you ought to have *replied*? Ought you not to have recalled the mistake, *so rashly* charged on me, and taken it to yourself? and the more readily, for being so gross an one? Ought you not rather to have done any thing than *assert* and *insist* with such assurance that you *had advanced nothing rashly*; that *every single instance of falshood was made good against me* ²? 'Tis such perverseness and dissingenuity as this that confirms men in *Scepticism*, instead of convincing them; by *insisting* for ever on exploded nonsense and cramming down people's throats what all men of sense must nauseate. Is it possible after this to expect any thing candid or impartial from you in the way of argument? no; we shall not be deceived; you preserve a true unity of character through your whole performance; 'tis all of a piece; equal and uniform to itself from one end to the other:

—————*Servatur ad inum,
Qualis ab incepto processerit, & sibi constat.*

To illustrate it a little farther:

¹ Def. p. 87.

² Rep. to Def. p. 4.

The design of *your Reply*, as 'tis declared by yourself, was to set forth the *falsehood of my Quotations and Historical Facts*: and your very *Title Page and Introduction* prepared us to expect that you would make good your charge against *them all*. Yet I observed, that when you came to the particulars, all you attempted to cavil at were *fifteen, out of fourscore*; and that even *two* of that number had *no reference to any quotation at all*. Let's just consider, what you have *replied* to this. As to the *two instances* I exclude from your list, you are content, it seems, to exclude them too and *change the name if I do not like it*¹: but why then were they added to the *account of Quotations*, when they had no relation to it, unless to enflame and enhaunce a *false charge*? you say withal, that you did not intend to attack *all my Quotations*, but *my original ones only*². And by the instances you give, one would imagine, that by *original*, you mean *Latin and Greek ones*: as if my *English Quotations*, which you do not meddle with, were not as truly *original* as those taken from *Herodotus*. But you define more distinctly your sense of *original ones*; telling us, that they are such, as I have not taken *at second hand on the authority of other writers*; for you never meant to charge me with *second hand Quotations*, knowing that if they

¹ Reply to Defence, p. 32.

² Ibid. p. 6.

are false, the authors I take them from are answerable for the falshood of them. Why then do you charge me with one drawn from *Maimonides*, on the *authority of Spencer*; and which *Spencer*, you say, took from *Buxtorf*¹? Is not this by your own definition *doubly a second handed one*? Why do you charge to my account likewise² another taken from *the Rabbins*, on the *authority of Lightfoot*? Is not this too *a second hand Quotation*? So that *your Reply* in this case, as in most others, is so shuffling and inconsistent, as shews you determined at all adventures rather to defend every thing *rashly*, than yield up any thing *ingenuously*.

'Tis not worth while to follow you again thro' all the cavils of *your first Reply*, which you now repeat and insist on in *your second*. A Controversy would be the business of life, if we must treat it at this rate, and dwell for ever on the same facts. I have already said enough on each, and am content to leave the merit of it to the judgment of the reader: however, to shew you that I have no other reason for declining any debate or argument you offer, but merely to save time and cut short unnecessary squabbles, I shall run over again with you *two or three* of your instances, where you

¹ Reply to Defence, p. 28.

² Ibid. p. 30.

fancy yourself the strongest, or have added some *new force* to your former exceptions.

You urge then afresh in your *second Reply*, with regard to what I have quoted from *Cicero*; that *Cicero's true Sentiments are not to be found under the character of his Academic Speakers*¹: and tell us withall, that it was on this very Article that the Author of the *Discourse on Free-thinking* received such chastisement from *Phileleutherus Lipsienfis*, that you never expected to see any one so venturesome, as to assert the same thing again. And I readily allow, that the *Free-thinker* you mention received a very proper correction from *Phileleutherus Lipsienfis*; whose great learning likewise I am as ready as yourself to acknowledge: but I assure you, Sir, that at the time of writing *My Letter*, I did not recollect what either of those Authors have said on the subject; but used on this, as on all other occasions, the right I claim of judging for myself: yet I am apt to think, that the *Learned Writer* we are speaking of, either does not insist so much, as you imagine, on what he has advanced, or thinks it at least consistent with the use I make of *Cicero*, from the principle he himself lays down; that the reasoning is the same, from whatever quarter it comes, and the Authority not the less, though transferr'd from *Cicero* to a

¹ Reply to Defence, p. 8.

Stoic ¹ ; for 'tis very credibly reported, that on reading *My Letter to Dr. Waterland*, before any name had been mentioned of the supposed Author, he did in very strong terms express his approbation of it.

But to return to the question : *Cicero* is allowed on all hands to have been a *professed and sincere follower of the Academy* : this he declares, in every part of his Works, and owns himself indebted for all the *Talents and Abilities* he was master of, to the precepts and principles of *that Philosophy*. Where then are we to look for his *real Sentiments* on any question ; but where that question is treated professedly and elaborately according to *the principles and maxims of the Academy* ? This is the case in his *second Book of Divination*, where he disputes in his own person ; and where he declares, that the *chief purpose of that Disputation was to explode Superstition* ; as it was likewise in his *other Book of the Nature of the Gods* ² : which is not applicable to any other part in *this Book*, but that only, which *Cotta* sustains. *Dr. W.* tells us, that *Tully's Disputants* in these very Books, *De natura Deorum, & de Divinatione*, debate in good earnest, and represent the sense of the several contending parties to the best advantage ³.

¹ Remarks on Discourse of Freeth. Part II. p. 78.

² De Div. l. 2. cap. ult.

³ Script. Vindicat. par. II. p. 7.

And if so, then the Sentiments affirmed by *Cotta*, must be considered as the Sentiments of *Cicero* himself, as they were the Sense of the *Academic party represented to the best advantage*.

And as to the declaration, that *Cicero* makes in the end of *this Dialogue* in favour of the *Stoics* ; I am still of opinion, that it may be considered as *a compliment to Brutus*, to whom this very Book is addressed ; by giving a slight preference to *his Philosophy* ; tho' himself at the same time *really followed and preferred* another kind¹. But this you call *strange*, and wonder how I can suppose *Cicero to have complimented with such insincerity* ? But 'tis more *strange*, to hear a man of gravity talking so childishly. For what is it, I would know, that you take *Cicero* to have been ? some *Bigot perhaps in Religion* ; who reckoned it a point of Conscience, not to depart a tittle from the rigour of his principles : or some *Pedant in Letters* ; who thought it a diminution to his character, not to assert on all occasions the supreme prerogative of his own judgment. No, Sir, I impute no *insincerity to him*, but what is suitable to his high merit and character, such as would dispose him, for the

¹ Quod genus Philosophiæ minime arrogans, maximèque & constans & elegans arbitramur, quatuor Academicis libris ostendimus, *de Div. l. 2. 1.*

² Reply to Defence. p. 10.

ease and politeness of conversation, not to insist always on the strictness of his Sentiments, but to yield up somewhat even of his own persuasion, to do a civility or pleasure to his Friend. A behaviour, which, however *strange* to you, will hardly do him discredit with any body else.

But the words I quoted are so far, you say, from giving *Cicero's opinion*, that they do not so much as represent *Cotta's*, who speaks them: This notion I have already treated as it deserves¹: but you insist upon it again, and enforce it by a new proof, drawn from what *Cotta* in the close of his argument says to his *Antagonist*; *facile me a te vinci posse, certò scio*. From which you infer, that *Cotta's approbation of the Sentiments he had been asserting, is inconsistent with the declaration he makes of his knowing for certain that Balbus could confute him*². And here again you fall into the same mistake of treating a *mere compliment*, as if it were a *solemn and categorical affirmation*. *A mere compliment*, I say; which every body who knows any thing of good manners or good sense will see at once to be such: though 'tis, I'm persuaded, *jeu d'adresse*, as you will never make, of allowing any man *able to confute you*. *Cotta*, in closing his argument, throws it into the hands of *Balbus*, in a polite man-

¹ Defence, p. 10.

² Reply to Defence, p. 11.

ner, by declaring, that *he knew it to be in his power to confute him with ease*: A civil turn of expreffion; very common on all occasions of eafy debate, whether publick or private: yet you argue from *the ftrict fenfe* of the words, as if *Cotta* were declaring his *ftrict Sentiments*: in which you contradict the very authority you follow, of *Phileleutherus* himfelf, who fays, that in this very *Book of the Nature of the Gods*, none of the difputants concede; all ftand firm to their principles ¹. Befides; whilft you lay fo much ftrefs on thefe words, and affirm them *ftrictly* to bear, that *Cotta knew for certain*, &c. you forget what you had allowed the page before, that it was the peculiar character of the *Academy*, to know nothing for certain.

Again; to fhew that the part affigned to *Cotta* did in fact contain *Cicero's real Sentiments*, I obferved, that in his *second Book of Divination*, where he difputes in his own perfon, he takes the fame fide and uſes the ſame arguments, to confute the opinions of the Stoics about Religion and Divination ². And here, after puzzling a while to find out my meaning; you ſuppoſe it at laſt to be, that *Cicero in this Book had difputed againſt Religion*: which you affirm to be falſe, and produce *Cicero's own words* to produce it ³. But whatever you af-

¹ Remarks on Diſcourſe of Freethink. par. II. p. 73.

² Defence, p. 9.

³ Reply to Defence, p. 9.

firm, or whatever you take *Cicero* to mean, I here again declare; that *Cicero* in his *second Book of Divination* disputes against *Religion*, as it was explained and understood by the *Stoics*; who held *Divination* to be an *essential and principal part* of it. If there are *Gods*, there is *Divination*, was fundamental with them; as you might have learnt from *Cicero* himself, who calls this very Article, *the fortress or citadel of the Stoical Religion* ¹. And to dispute against *Divination* was not only to dispute against *the Religion of the Stoicks*, but against the *popular or established Religion* too; which, as every one knows, was founded on the supposition of *the truth of Divination*, and most of *its offices and ceremonies* instituted on that sole foundation, which must of course fall to the ground, were *Divination* taken away ².

But how then, you'll say, are we to understand *Cicero*, when he declares in this same Book, that he has no design *to take away Religion*? Very easily; by considering him only as talking like a *Philosopher*: that though he was confuting the *superstitious notions of the Stoicks*, yet he did not mean by that to destroy *the Religion of Reason* and

¹ Arcem tu quidem Stoicorum, Quinte, defendis, si quidem ista sic recipiuntur; ut &, si divinatio sit, Dii sint, &, si Dii sint, sit divinatio, *de Div. l. 1. 6.*

² Cum omnis populi Romani religio in Sacra & in Auspicia divisa sit; tertium adjunctum sit, si quid prædictionis causa ex portentis & monstris Sybillæ interpretes, Haruspicesve monuerunt, *Nat. Derr. 3. 2.*

Nature, founded in the belief of a *God and his Providence*: and though he declared for preserving *the Rites and Ceremonies established by their Ancestors*; yet it was for reasons of policy, and the ends of government only; not that he thought them any part of *the true and rational Religion*, which men of sense ought to follow ¹.

You proceed to enforce an exception of yours, to a quotation from *Josephus*, about the use of *Circumcision in Ægypt*. Where I must recommend one general remark to the reader, and desire him to apply to *all your Cavils* of this kind; *vis.* that if on any occasion, thro' haste or eagerness, I have laid more stress on any *testimony*, than it will strictly and singly bear, yet 'tis always in cases, where I have either supported *the same fact by other full and clear authorities*, or where 'tis allowed and notorious, that it can be so supported. So that whatever may be objected to the exactness of *any particular quotation*, it makes no alteration in the state of the question itself. This will be explained by the instance before us.

I had quoted *Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus,*

¹ Nam & majorum instituta tueri sacris ceremoniisque remittendis sapientis est: & esse præstantem aliquam, æternamque naturam & eam aspiciendam, admirandamque hominum generi, pulchritudo mundi ordoque rerum cœlestium cogit confiteri. Quamobrem ut religio propaganda est, quæ est iuncta cum cognitione naturæ; sic superstitionis stirpes omnes elidendæ, *de Div.* 2. 72.

Strabo, to prove, that *Circumcision* was universally practised by the *Ægyptians*; in confirmation of which, I added likewise a passage of *Josephus*; that does not, it seems, come up to the very point of *universal practice*: now without taking any notice of the other authorities, which establish the fact, you catch hold of this; run away with the cry of *false quotation*; and fancying, that you have got the reader on your side, and can now persuade him to any thing, you presently form an *Hypothesis* out of your own brain; that *the Ægyptian Priests only were circumcised*; that *these Priests taught the Priests of other nations to be so too*; and that *it was not for the sake of cleanliness, as I translate καθαρότης*, but of *purity*; just as it was among the *Jews*¹. All which particulars I have severally considered and confuted². But this rude way of confuting does not please you; you call it *dropping the question and drawing off the reader from the charge brought against me*³. And 'tis indeed drawing of his attention from words, to things; from trifles, to truth; not, as you say, by *dropping*, but keeping strictly to the merits of the question: which you are forced in effect to give up, by declaring here, that *whether the Ægyptians*

¹ Reply, p. 15.

² Defence, p. 19.

³ Reply to Defence, p. 16.

were generally circumcised or no, is no material inquiry ¹.

To what purpose have you spent so much pains in inquiring about it? And why do you employ some pages of *your second Reply*, to prove the negative? Which you endeavour to do by the help of a fresh authority from *Josephus*; who *in giving an account of the death of Apion, an Egyptian, tells us, that he was forced to be circumcised on account of a distemper, of which he died* ². Upon which you give this decisive and declarative sentence; *that it may suffice to shew, both that the Egyptians in general did not practise this rite, and that Josephus knew very well that they did not.* Yet this very fact, from which you decide so dogmatically, will be found at last very little to your purpose; and like some other authorities you alledge, tho' it has some shew, has no foundation. The thing asserted is, *that the Egyptians under the flourishing state of their ancient Monarchy and Religion were generally circumcised*: and you to confute it, oppose the case of a *single Egyptian*; which is not pretended to have happened, till after *their Monarchy and Religion* had been dissolved, and the Country converted to a *Roman Province*. How judicious and conclusive such reasoning is, I shall leave to the reader.

¹ Reply to Denunce, p. 6.

² Ibid. p. 12.

But you tell me here, that *I have as ill luck as ever at quotations*¹ ; because I observe, that *Josephus makes no other reflection on the account Herodotus gives, of Circumcision's being borrowed from Ægypt ; than that of such things every one may think as he pleases.* This you affirm, to be a most false representation of the matter. To which I may answer, that whether it be true or false, it is of no consequence to any point in debate : The use I make of *Josephus*, is to shew, that in his account of *scriptural facts*, he allows a greater latitude of interpreting and explaining them, than our modern *Advocates* do ; and if he really does so, in *facts* of greater moment and importance to *Religion* than this, as I shall clearly shew hereafter ; then the use I make of him is certainly just, however I have represented him here : but I shall insist upon it withall, that in this very case, 'tis not *my representation*, but *your charge upon me that is false*. You imagine, that the reflection made here by *Josephus*, that *of such things every one may think as he pleases* ; relates wholly to the *Story of Shisac's plundering the City and Temple of Jerusalem* ; and to the question, whether *Herodotus* refers to the same event, or no : and I allow, that the account of this story, and the proof of its being mentioned

¹ Reply to Defence, p. 19.

by *Herodotus*, make the substance of the paragraph: and what is said about *Circumcision*, seems thrown in by way of confirmation of it: upon which immediately follows *the reflection* above mentioned, that closes the whole; which, however applicable to the other contents of the paragraph, yet cannot be interpreted so, as to exclude a reference to the *case of Circumcision*, that immediately precedes it: nay, by all rational construction must be thought, if not solely, yet principally to refer to it; because as far as I have observed or can recollect of *Josephus*; tho' he uses the *same reflection* very often, yet he never applies it but to *some fact or point of great moment* to the truth or essential character of the *Jewish Religion*. Now as the *story of Skisac* in this paragraph is of no consequence to the *Jewish Nation or Religion*; so 'tis rational to think *the reflection*, 'tis closed with, applicable to the case of *Circumcision*, which is of consequence. But of this we shall be better able to judge, after I have explained my sentiments on the other more important passages of *Josephus*.

I shall just touch *another of your cavils*, which you insist on again in *your said Reply*. I had observed of the *Ægyptians*, that *they were more addicted to miracles and prodigies, than all other people*. And referred myself for the truth of my observation to a passage of *Herodotus*: in which I *deceive my reader*,

you say, ¹ *at the expence of a false quotation.* To this I answered; that the word τέρατα in the original, on which the sense of the passage turns, carries the notion of miracles, as well as prodigies; that a superstitious regard to the one necessarily implied the same regard to the other; and that in fact, it was certain from other authorities, that the Egyptians were just as much addicted to miracles as to prodigies ². Now what do you say to all this? Do you deny any one article of it? No. Do you pretend to say that τέρατα does not signify miracles? No. You own it does. Do you shew or so much as hint, that the Egyptians were not as much addicted to the one as to the other? No; all that you do, is to assert and insist still, that the word, miracles, is neither expressed nor implied in the sentence ³. For my part, in all Disputes of this kind, 'tis my care to attend to things, instead of cavilling at Words; and where I allow the general purpose of a testimony to be true, am content to overlook any little inaccuracies of rendring it; for if like you, I was disposed to squabble and fight my way thro' every syllable of a quotation, instead of the few you except to of mine, there is hardly a single one of yours, that I could not with the same truth charge with falsehood

¹ Reply, p. 23, 24.

² Defence, p. 48.

³ Reply to Defence, p. 22.

and misrepresentation. Let's take for instance the first Greek one we find, at the bottom of your page; which you translate thus: *for all the Ceremonies of the Temple, and a thousand other precepts would be neglected, if we were to confine ourselves only to the Allegorical Signification*¹. Now the word *All*, about which you make such a rout in both your *Replies*¹, is neither expressed nor understood in the *original*; nor is there any word that answers directly to, *Ceremonies*; nor so much as a tittle, that signifies *Precepts*; and what you translate, *a thousand*, ought to be rendered *ten thousand*; what you render, *confine ourselves to*, ought to be rendred *attend to*. Why then may not I exclaim here with as much justice as you do; *what gross misrepresentation is this*, where there are almost as many offences *against strict Translation*, as there are words? But I scorn to waste my time and Pains in such trifling; shall give up all *that field of Criticism* to yourself; nor envy you the credit of Learning and Judgment that such arts can procure you.

As to your *other Cavils at my Quotations*, I shall leave them where they stand to the judgment of the Reader; and if he compares what I have said in defence of them, with the force of what you have objected, I need

¹ Τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀγιστίας ἔρυγαν ἄλλων ἀμελήσεσθαι, εἰ μόνους προσέξωμεν τοῖς δι' ὑπονοῶν δηλερμένοις. Ibid. p. 51.

² See Reply, p. 23. Item. Reply to Defence, p. 20.

be in no pain for the judgment he will make : *the quotations themselves are produced to shew, that the Jews had borrowed some of their ceremonies and customs from Ægypt : this is the only point in question ; and if you had replied to any purpose, or had any real concern for truth, 'twas your business to have joined issue on that ; to have examined into the real state of it : which after two Replies you have industriously declined. The Fact has been constantly asserted by men of the greatest Learning, and the most conversant in both Jewish and Ægyptian Antiquity ; without any suspicion that the acknowledgment of it could be of any disservice to true Religion. Calmet, the most diligent of the modern Commentators, tells us, that as Moses came out of Ægypt, and the people, whose Leader he was, had been trained in all the customs, laws and religion of that country ; it was not possible for him as Legislator to propose any thing to them, but in conformity to the ideas, impressions and habits they were prepossessed with. That they had a surprising inclination to Idolatry, from their education in an idolatrous country, where they gave themselves up to the established Religion with pleasure and greediness, as it was adapted to their genius, and agreeable to their inclination : and that we must attend to, and carry this notion along with us, in order to enter into the design and spirit of the Mosaic writings.*

writings¹. Dr. *Spencer's* famed work on this very subject is at this day greatly and justly admired in all *Christian countries*; and his zeal for *Revealed Religion*, so little questioned on that account, that *Archbishop Tenison* left fifty pounds by will, as a reward to the *Publisher of a new Edition* of it, with the *posthumous additions of the Author*; which we have seen not long since executed by a learned Divine: and to declare my own opinion of the fact; I take it to be so clearly grounded in the *testimony of History, both sacred and profane*, that if it cannot be looked upon as *absolutely certain*, yet it is at least so *highly probable*; that to deny it rashly and peremptorily, as *some Divines* are disposed to do, will always do mischief instead of service to the *Christian Cause*, by giving disgust and offence to candid and impartial inquirers. For *nothing*, as *Bishop Tillotson* wisely observes², *has been more pernicious to the Christian Religion, than the vain pretence of men to greater assurance concerning things relating to it, than they can make good; the mischief of which is this; that when discerning and inquisitive men find that men pretend to greater matters, than they can prove, this makes them doubt of all they say, and to call in question the truth of Christianity itself.*

¹ Comment. Pref. Gen. p. vi. and p. x.

² *Tillotson's Works*, Vol. III. p. 452.

'Twas this reflection, that gave rise to this Controversy ; and the motive of publishing *my Letter to Dr. W.* was a persuasion, that he was pursuing the very method condemned by the *Archbishop* ; taking greater matters upon himself than he could prove ; dogmatizing with greater assurance of things than he could make good : and the intention of my address to him was to shew him the danger of what, in my judgment, he had rashly undertaken and was rashly executing ; and not to declare any sentiments of my own : to convince him, that his arbitrary manner of deciding questions of the utmost nicety and difficulty ; by not allowing the least colour of reason or probability to any objections ; but imputing them all to the ignorance, malice and wickedness of the objectors, was not the proper way to convince, but to shock every rational Sceptick. It was with this view I proposed, what I have offered in *My Letter*, about the *History of Man's fall, Circumcision, the Confusion of Languages, the Dispersion of Mankind, &c.* in order to shew the literal account and solution of those facts to be charged with difficulties, sufficient to puzzle even the strongest reason ; which, instead of being slubber'd over, as trifling and insignificant, must be candidly owned and calmly and freely examined, before Religion can be established on a firm and solid foundation.

And

And 'tis certain at least after all our endeavours, that some things will be found in *Scripture*, which no wit of man can account for, or reconcile to the natural dictates of reason : and which must be left to the wisdom of God to clear up in his own good time. Porphyry, as St. Jerom says, used to object and demand, for what reason a merciful God could for so many ages, from Adam to Moses, and from Moses to Christ, suffer whole Nations to perish thro' ignorance of his will and law: and why it was necessary for Christ to come so late, and not before an innumerable multitude of men had been lost? Which question, says he, the blessed Apostle, in his Epistle to the Romans, most prudently handles, owning his ignorance, and referring it to the knowledge of God. Which ought to teach all others, as he says, the same modesty of owning their ignorance too in questions of this sort ¹.

But neither the example of the Apostle, nor the admonition of the Father, can restrain the adventurous Spirit of our modern Champions from undertaking this very question ; and proving, that, whatever St. Paul thought, there's no occasion to own any ignorance at

¹ Quam quæstionem beatus Apostolus ad Romanos scribens, prudentissime ventilat, ignorans hæc, & Dei concedens scientiæ. Dignare & tu ista nescire quæ quæris. Concede Deo potentiam sui, nequaquam te indiget defensore, *Hier. ad Ctesiph. adv. Pelag. Op. T. IV. par. II. p. 481. Edit Bened.*

all ; for that the fact objected is found at last to be false, and there really was *no period of time*, in which the Nations of the World wanted light and opportunity of knowing the *Revealed Will and standing Law of God* ¹.

But to resume what I was saying, of the *History of Man's Fall, the Confusion of Languages ; and the Dispersion of Mankind* : As the first is a point of great moment, I shall take occasion to explain myself fully upon it by and by : in order to which, I shall here dismiss the *two last*, by desiring the Reader only to recollect *the Observation* made above ; that I was not *declaring* here any *Sentiments* of my own, but shewing only the insufficiency of what was advanced by Dr. *W.* And if on this, or any other occasion, I have used a *greater freedom or levity of expression*, than is thought decent on *questions of such importance* ; I hope it may be some excuse for me, that I was writing as *a person concealed* : a circumstance, that naturally disposes to more freedom, than a Man would otherwise take ; especially when he hopes by that very means the more effectually to disguise his real character ; as well as to raise an attention to what he has to offer by *some sting and spirit* in the manner of offering it. Dr. *W.* greatly

¹ See Scripture Vindicated, Par. 2. Postscript.

contemns *his Antagonist*, for being *dull, insipid and without poignancy*¹: so that it was necessary for me to address him in a *different stile*; that if I did not happen to please, I might at least have the fortune to escape his contempt. With this reflection let the reader review what I have said on the *story of Babel*; and he will see, that I have passed *no peremptory judgment* upon it; declared no other opinion but this; that *the origin of languages may, with some colour of reason and probability, be accounted for in a natural way*.

As for *the Dispersion of Mankind*, I am very certain, that *Dr. W.'s account and your defence* of it will appear *absurd and irrational* to every judicious reader: and as I do not find in *Scripture*, that there was *any miracle or extraordinary interposition of God* employed to effect it; so I think myself at *liberty* to solve and explain it in any manner agreeable to *reason*: what I have proposed to that purpose, is, in my judgment, a cause fully adequate to the end, and what could not fail to bring it about, as soon as there was occasion, from the *very nature and necessities of human kind*.

I shall now proceed to give some account of the use I make of *Josephus's Authority*; as well as to consider the force of your objections on this head.

¹ Scripture Vindicated. Par. 2. p. 36.

In the first place then, you allow *Josephus* to have been a wise and excellent *Apologist* of the Jewish Religion and Government, and a true lover of both; and suggest several reasons, why it would not have been prudent in him, to have insisted strongly on *Moses's Miracles*, or the Divine Authority of the Jewish Religion; that he knew he was treading on dangerous ground; and that 'twas his business to guard against giving offence to the prejudiced Heathens; that in many parts of his *Antiquities*, where he relates a Miracle, he leaves his readers to think of it, as they please, without exacting from them a full belief of it: and in short, that in his book against *Apion*, he wholly omits the mention of *Moses's Miracles*¹.

Now this, Sir, is owning much more, than is necessary to justify the full use I endeavour to draw from him: that as he, whose sincerity in his Religion is confessed, and whose prudence in the defence of it applauded, allowed a liberty of thinking, and a latitude of explaining some scriptural facts of great moment; so our modern Advocates ought to temper their zeal with the same prudence, by leaving likewise some liberty in the explication of the same facts. And your own account proves my inference to be not only just, but temperate too: for I do not contend for all the liberty which *Josephus* has given; but where he has given so much, that our *Apo-*
logists might reasonably indulge some.

¹ Reply to Defence, p. 66. &c.

Josephus's design in his Book against Apion was, by your own account of it, exactly the same with Dr.W.'s in his Book against Christianity as old, &c. that is, to confute ¹ the particular objections and calumnies of Infidels and prejudiced persons, who represent Moses as an Impostor, and his laws as making men worse instead of better. Now if Josephus acted wisely in not pressing, as you say, too forwardly the Miracles and Divine Authority of Moses; but endeavouring by a prudent and dextrous way of treating those points to soften and win the Infidels to his side: then 'tis reasonable to infer, that Dr.W. not only might, but ought to have followed his example, in points at least of less moment: and such a conduct must have been esteemed in the Doctor, what you declare it to have been in Josephus; the effect of a sincere zeal and love for his Religion.

You tell us very gravely, that Josephus had no view either in his Book of Antiquities, or That against Apion to make converts to Judaism; but only to give the Greeks and Romans a favourable opinion of the Jewish Nation ². But does not an elaborate Attempt to recommend his Religion as effectually as he can, and to turn the prejudices conceived against it into a favourable opinion of it, necessarily imply a design of making converts? If not, I am at a loss to know what other way

¹ Reply to Defence, p. 67.

² Ibid. p. 65.

there is of making any. The *Bishop of Meaux's famed Piece*, in which he dresses up so *moderate and qualified a Picture of Popery*, as to offend the *Zealots* even of his own Religion, was not written, you may say, with *any view to make converts*; but to give the Protestants only, *a favourable opinion of the Popish Religion*, and *take off their prejudices against it*: but would not people be apt to laugh at you for saying so? The case is much the same in what you say of *Josephus*.

Your next observation is more trifling: that *it would not have been safe for him to have acted otherwise*; that *his life was at the mercy of the Heathens*; and *to have pressed the Divine Authority of his Religion more strongly, would have been looked on as an open disparagement of the Roman Religion and Laws too*. And what he says therefore of *Minos* was for fear of offending those, who had received his laws as given from Heaven¹. But was there then in *Old Rome*, as there is in the *New*, an *Inquisition* established for the security of the *Publick Religion*? Or what zeal could a *Roman Emperor* have for the laws of *Minos*, made so many ages before, for the little island of *Crete*; which by that time, we may suppose, had been long antiquated? No, Sir, all this reasoning of yours has no foundation in truth or history; 'tis merely

¹ Reply to Defence, p. 66, 72.

talking at random, and deserves no other answer, than that of ridicule.

As to the *Book of Jewish Antiquities*, the fact is; that *Josephus*, in order to take off the prejudice and aversion, which the World had generally conceived to the Jews, and to give the best impression he was able of their Religion and Polity, undertakes to draw out a perpetual History of both, from the Records of the Old Testament, in a language at that time the most universally known and practised of any other: declaring, that his intention was not to vary a tittle from what he found in the Sacred Books; and that he was to be considered only as a mere Interpreter of them¹. Now in the execution of this work you observe, that *Josephus* expresses himself very plainly in many passages, on the Article of Moses's Inspiration and the divine origin of the Law². And reason good, that he should do so; where he professes to speak nothing but what the Scriptures plainly dictate: so that, as oft as the Scriptures have occasion to mention the Inspiration of Moses, so oft was he obliged to mention it too, from the very nature of the task he had undertaken: and in all such places we can collect nothing certain of *Josephus's* real opinion, but of the sense of Scripture only; which he had obliged himself to follow. But whenever he varies from that Scripture; as he does remarkably in many

¹ Proœm. in Lib. I. Antiq. & Lib. X. c. x. §. 6.

² Reply to Defence, p. 65.

cases; *contrary to his own declaration*; and without any other reason than what depended on his own choice; and where in the relation of any fact, he gives *a different turn* to it, from what we find in the *Mosaick account*, 'tis there, we are to look for the *Sentiments and Principles of Josephus*.

Now all men of learning observe, that *his History* is in many particulars *very different from that of Moses*; that *he adds some things of his own*; *wholly omits others*; and interprets most of them so, as to give them the easier credit *with the Heathens*; and this especially, in the *article of Miracles*. *Fabricius* has collected the censures of learned men upon him on this very account ¹: and *Peter Brinch*, a learned Divine and critical reader of him, has given us his own; where he tells us, *that it was a fault not uncommon with him, to relate the Miracles from Sacred Writ in such a manner, as to make them even doubtful and suspected* ². For instance; where he gives an account of the *wonderful appearance of God on Mount Sinai*, he interposes this reflection very usual with him; *of these things the reader may think as he pleases*; 'tis necessary for me to relate them, just as they are written in the *Sacred Books* ³.

¹ Vid. Fabricii Biblioth. Gr. l. 4. c. 6. it. Havercamp. Edit. Joseph. Vol. 2. Append. p. 57.

² Nec rarum Josepho istud vitium est, quod divina ex sacris literis miracula ita referat, ut dum refert, dubia lectoribus & suspecta reddat. &c. Edit. Havercamp. *ibid.* p. 301.

³ Antiq. lib. 3. c. v. §. 2.

To the story of *Nebuchadnezzar*, he sub-joins the same reflection; *let no man blame me for delivering these particulars, as I found them in the old Books: for in the beginning of my History I declared, that I acted only the part of a Translator, &c.*¹ And in the next Chapter, after an account of *Daniel* and his *Prophecies*, he concludes the Book by saying; *for my part, as I have found and read these things, so I have written them; but if any man be disposed to think differently about them, he shall not be blamed by me for his different way of thinking* ². Lastly, in the account of the Prophet *Jonah*, excusing himself, as it were, for delivering a story so strange, he *twice* puts the reader in mind *that he writes only what he takes from the Scripture* ³.

'Tis to no purpose to collect any more instances of this kind, or *the variations* he has made from *Moses*, or the *natural causes* hinted in the case of *some miracles*; or his *omissions* of some remarkable facts, as of the *Golden Calf*, the *Brazen Serpent*, &c. all supposed to be done with the same view of recommending his *Religion* to Strangers. The use I make of this is, to shew the truth of what I had gathered from *this very Book of Antiquities*, that his *real Sentiments of the Divine Authority of Moses* were not

¹ *Antiq.* l. x. c. x. §. 6.

² *Ibid.* c. xi. ad fin.

³ *Ibid.* c. x. §. 2.

carried to *that height*, to which our Divines commonly push theirs : and this you modestly call, *the rashness of my assertion, or the negligence of my reading* ¹ ; tho' all men of learning allow it ; even those, who allow at the same time, as you do, that *Josephus was sincere and zealous in his Religion*. And if, zealous as he was, he took a *liberty* himself, and indulged it to others, of solving by different ways the great events recorded in *Scripture* ; a conduct, which you, in effect, declare to be *wise and prudent* ; it follows of course, that *the inference*, I made, is reasonable, and what I must insist upon again ; that our *zealous Advocates of Christianity*, ought for the same reasons, of *not giving offence to Infidels*, and *hurting the cause they would vindicate*, to follow his example at least so far as to use *some degree of temper and moderation*, where he is justly thought to have used *too much* of it.

From this general view of *Josephus's Writings*, I come once more to consider *the particular passage* in dispute between us taken from his *Book against Apion* ² : which you call my *Master-piece of Quotation*. I had before observed that the dispute turned wholly on a *point of fact*, about what *Josephus had or had not said* in this place ; and that I was not declaring *any opinion of my own*, but examining only *into that fact*.

¹ Reply to Defence, p. 75.

² Contr. Apol. lib. 2. c. 16.

But as this caution has not proved sufficient to guard me from *envy and clamour*, so I must again beg the reader to attend more distinctly to the *true state of the Question*, and not to charge on me the Sentiments, which the nature of the Controversy leads me to charge on *Josephus*.

Now after a due examination of what you have offered in *your second Reply* to my exposition of the passage before us; I find myself obliged to persist still in what I had before declared; that we cannot by any fair and rational construction draw out of this paragraph *any notion of the Divine Mission and Inspiration of Moses*, in that high sense of it in which 'tis commonly received, without the help of that *prejudice and prevention*, we come possessed with, in favour of the notion we search for. You tell us yourself, that *in this Book against Apion the invention of Moses's miracles is entirely omitted*¹: and does not this concession prepare us for the very interpretation I give? To confirm which, we are to consider the *general tenor and scope* of the paragraph; to connect one part with another so, as to make them severally consistent with the obvious sense of the whole: and not to dwell, as you do, on the rigorous meaning of *two or three* words, which cannot be admitted, without controuling and over-ruling the clear sense of *an hundred*. But since much more has already been said

¹ Reply to Defence, p. 67, 68.

on this passage, than the merit of it will justify; I shall take notice only of *one of the difficulties* you charge in your *second Reply*; since the clearing up of this will be decisive and effectual to the confutation of all the rest.

The difficulty I mean relates to the last sentence in the paragraph which I have translated thus. *Some have thrown the form of their publick affairs into a Monarchy; others into the power of a few, or an Oligarchy: others into the multitude, or a Democracy: but our Lawgiver had no regard to any of these, but if a man may use an expression so forced, made the form of Government he instituted, a Theocracy*¹. Where the last words, I say, *clinch the whole* to the sense I had been establishing. But you object here, that I have *falsly and absurdly* translated the words, Θεοκρατίαν ἀπέδειξε, *he made his Government, a Theocracy: whereas, it plainly signifies, what the Old Latin Interpreter gave; he declared it to be so; he proposed, and delivered it, as a Theocracy*². And when the Words, you say, are thus rightly rendered, they are very far from *clinch the whole*, or confirming my explication. Here then we join issue; if my translation be true, you will own it to *clinch the whole* to my sense; if yours appear to be so, I will retract

¹ Defence, p. 29. See the whole passage

² Reply to Defence, p. 69, 70.

and recal mine. *The issue is short*; let's proceed to the trial of it.

And as in all questions of this kind, the first inquiry ought to be about the turn and meaning of the whole connected sentence; so we will first consider here, to what sense of the word, ἀπέδειξε, *the context* directs us. *Josephus* is giving a short hint of the form of the *Jewish Government*, in the institution of which he tells us, *that the Lawgiver had no regard to any of the different kinds subsisting in the World, whether Monarchy, Oligarchy, or Democracy*: now these words, you will own, are applicable to *Moses*, acting authoritatively in his own proper person: but they are not only impertinent, but absurd, if what immediately follows is not to be applied so too: they lead us to imagine, that he was projecting a *form of Government*, and looking abroad into the world to consider the various kinds of it among other people; and that he resolved at last to take his pattern from none of them, but to make his own of a different kind from them all. For what could *Josephus* mean by telling us, that *Moses had no regard to any other form*; if he meant in the next words to tell us, that he had *no hand in the making even his own form*? 'Tis nothing at all to the purpose what he had regarded or not regarded, had it not been with a view to the making of a *Government*: and thus the context is not only impertinent, but inconsistent

inconsistent with itself, if your sense be admitted.

As to the word itself, ἀπέδειξαι, I may safely appeal to all, who have a competent knowledge of *Greek*, whether in this place, and form of construction it ought not to be rendered to the sense I have given it; of *making, constituting, appointing*: and though it may have likewise that of *declaring or proposing*; yet it must be of something *formed and constituted* by him who *declares and proposes* it; and includes therefore at the same time *the notion of making*. Many examples of this may be found in the *Classic Authors*, tho' 'tis not easy to recur to them, as soon as they are wanted. One I have recollected from *Josephus* himself, in *Jethro's advice to Moses*; about placing *Judges or Rulers* over the people. The words are ἀρχόντας ἀποδείξεις, thou shalt *make or constitute rulers*: and a little lower, he uses a different word of the same force, τάξεις, thou shalt *appoint or place over them*¹. I have met with another in *Plutarch*, who speaking of *Lycurgus*, in the very case of *moulding his Government*, tells us, how by *a method learnt in Ægypt*, he made it at last truly elegant and perfect. Ἀσείον ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸ πολίτευμα, καὶ καθαρὸν, ἀποδείξαι². *Hen. Stephens's Thesaurus* furnishes several instances from *Plato, Xenophon,*

¹ Antiq. l. 3, 4.

² Plut. in Vita Lycurg. p. 41.

&c. where he renders the word, by *facio, efficio, reddo, creo, constituo*: that is, to *make, effect, create, constitute*. I shall just mention one, where *Xenophon* speaking of the proper choice of Masters for the Youth, says, that *such of the older sort used to be chosen, who were the most likely to make their children the best men*: τὸς παῖδας βελτίους ἀνὰ ποδεικνύναι¹. And a little after, for the same thing, he uses, βελτίους παρέχειν.

But you tell us withal, that the *old Interpreter* had rendered this place, by *declared his Government a Theocracy*: an *Authority*, I doubt, that will add very little weight to your cause; *Scaliger* declares *your old Interpreter* to have been a *great blunderer*². And for what reason have *the Criticks* discarded him, but that they found him to be so; and his version here contrary to sense, and contrived only to serve an *Hypothesis*; which however true, cannot derive any additional credit from a *false translation*? Have not *Hudson* and *Havercamp*, the *learned Editors of Josephus*, translated the word, as I have given it? And did they not understand *Greek*, and the *Author* they have published? You must *reply* distinctly to all this, before you can make any impression in favour of what you advance. You must shew *the context* to give no colour to my exposition: you must

¹ Institut. Cyri. l. 1.

² Pref. Hud. Edit. Joseph.

shew *the word itself* to bear no such meaning: you must shew that men of the first name in learning not to have understood *Greek*: and when you have done this, you may then claim the credit of restoring *the old Interpreter* to his *old Honour*. In the mean while, should the reader allow my translation to be just, he must allow withal, what you seem to do too, that it *clinches the whole paragraph to the sense* I have given of it.

I shall now follow you through the examination of what you call *the most important part of my Defence*; in which you charge me with *attempting more openly to weaken the authority of Moses*¹: where after you have collected into one view, what you call my *scattered Sentiments*, you draw up the state of the controversy into *two points*². 1. *Whether Moses's account of the Creation and Fall of man is to be understood literally or no.* 2. *Whether the Religion and Laws which Moses delivered to the Jews had a divine Origin and Authority.* To these two points I shall answer distinctly; and to shew how ready I am to humour you, as far as I am able, will give what you require, *a full and explicit account of my thoughts* upon them.

But in order to clear my way to them, it will be necessary to consider what you

¹ Reply to Defence, p. 46.

² Ibid. p. 48.

have objected, as usual, to *two quotations* of mine that relate to the same subject.

In support of my exposition of *the paragraph*, we have been examining, and to shew, that *Josephus had put Moses on the same foot with Minos and the other old Law-givers*; I took occasion to observe, that this was so far from *weakening Moses's authority*, that it tended to *strengthen it* with those, to whom it was addressed; who had the highest esteem and opinion of *those very Law-givers*, and were so far from being scandalized at the *fiction*s contrived by them for *the good of the people*; that they *bragged* of them the more for that very reason, as the *greatest benefactors of mankind*. This I confirmed from *Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, Plato*. But to these, you say ¹, 'tis not worth while to answer; they are *Heathen authorities*, and I am welcome to them: and as much *Heathens* as they are, they are welcome, I assure you, to me: I am proud of their acquaintance; and tho' I do not intend to die in their faith, yet resolve to live in their friendship.

Of these *Plato* particularly, who has written *on Government* more fully than any of the Ancients, affirms it to be the *chief duty of a Magistrate, to contrive such Fables, Fictions, or political Lies*, as he thinks the most effectual to instil into the people a reverence

¹ Reply to Defence, p. 61.

for the *Laws*, and dispose them to a willing obedience to them. Now the *Greek Fathers*, I observed, were possessed likewise with a common opinion, that *Plato* had diligently studied the *Books of Moses*, and copied so many of his notions from them, that he was called by some the *Attick Moses* : and that *Clemens of Alexandria* and *Eusebius* do in a manner assert, or say at least much the same thing, that *Plato's* notion of the use of those *Fables and Fictions* was borrowed from the *Mosaic Writings* . But here you tell me flatly, that *I have misrepresented Clemens, and acted still more unfairly with Eusebius* ², whom since I have treated, it seems, *the worst of the two*, I will endeavour to do justice to in the first place.

And on a review of the passage taken from him, I find myself so far from having treated him *unfairly*, that I have ascribed nothing to him but what his very words plainly and directly express. In the *eleventh Book of his Preparation*, he sets out by undertaking to shew, *the exact agreement of the Greeks, and above all of Plato, with the Books of Moses, in all the most important points*. And the subject of the Book is to prove this by a comparison of the particulars. He opens the *twelfth Book* by telling us, that the purpose of it is to shew, *the particular a-*

¹ Defence, p. 44.

² Reply to Defence, p. 62, 64.

greement of Plato with the Jewish Oracles, just like the harmony of a well tuned Lyre, in all the articles not specified in the former Book. And in each Chapter of this Book, in which there are fifty, he gives a different example of this same harmony; prefixing to each a Summary or Title of the contents it treats of. Among which we find these that follow.

That Children ought to be trained up by Fables.

That a careful choice ought to be made of such Fables.

That we ought not to expose to all promiscuously the profound and awful doctrines of Truth.

That Plato allegorizes the story of Paradise, just as Moses.

That Youth should be trained to the exercise of virtue by Hymns and Songs.

That 'tis necessary sometimes to use a Lie instead of Physick, for the good of those who want it.

The passage I have quoted is found under this last title; and the Chapter itself begins with the words of Plato, to this effect, as nearly as I can render them: That a Law-giver, who is good for any thing, ought above all other Fictions contrived for the good of the Youth, to invent such especially, as tend to make them do what is right and just, not by force, but readily and willingly. To which is

immediately subjoined the reflection of *Eusebius himself*, that there are very many instances of this kind, in the books of the Hebrews.

I appeal now to every reader, whether 'tis possible for a testimony to be more *explicit and direct* than this. 'Tis produced to prove, that according to *Eusebius*, Plato's notion of *political Fictions* was borrowed from Moses. *Eusebius* expressly affirms it. How is it then that I have acted *unfairly* with him? Because I conceal, it seems, and drop the following words, which shew, that the *Fiction* he imputes to *Scripture*, consisted only in ascribing *human passions to the Deity*, and representing him, as *jealous, sleepy, angry*; which, however it may amuse some readers, is yet nothing at all to the purpose. The fact, for which *Eusebius* is appealed to, is, whether *Plato* borrowed the notion from *Scripture* or no: *Eusebius* declares that he did; which is all that I am concerned for: if we would know the particular instances of *Fiction* that *Plato* borrowed; we must learn that from *Plato himself*, and not from *Eusebius*: I have shewn what kind it was that *Plato* recommended; and no body, I dare say, can shew that he ever recommended what *Eusebius* here mentions; or for the good of the people ever feigned God to be *jealous, angry, sleepy, &c.* My business then being to prove the Authority of *Eusebius*,

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that

that Plato *had borrowed his notion from Moses*; it could not be to the purpose to exemplify it, by instances, which he did not borrow. And *Eusebius* might possibly give this turn to his argument, to obviate *the offence*, which a frank allowance of such a fact might give to the more *rigid and zealous*: it being well known, that no small clamour was raised against him by the *strictly orthodox* of those times, for his *opinions* in some high points of Religion.

Let's now see what you object to the other passage of *Clemens*; who in speaking, as I say, of the *Art of governing*, allows the Greeks to have learnt from Moses among other lessons of policy, *the proper use and application of Lying or Fiction*¹. But you charge me here with *misrepresentation*, in calling that the *Art of governing*, which ought to be rendered the *Art of governing in war*, or the *Art of a General*. And should I grant you this, pray what would you gain by it? Does it not come up to what I contend for; or at least, as I have put it, *to much the same thing*? For what difference is there in the thing itself, when used for the good of the people, whether it be used in peace, or in war? Unless that in war, 'tis seldom practised with effect, but *to the destruction of thousands*; in peace without the least hurt or in-

¹ Defence, p. 44.

jury to any one : and this difference, I'm afraid, will give no advantage to your side of the question.

Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirit :

is, I know, the ordinary maxim of *military policy*; and you give us from *Virgil*, the *mentita tela* of an enemy : but you forget what you had observed on a less pertinent occasion, that these are *Heathenish maxims*; the suggestions of a *loose morality* : Will you undertake to defend them by the *strict principles of Religion*, or assert the practice of them to be honourable in *the character of Moses* ? If you can do this, then *the use of Fiction* in any case for *the good of the people* may surely be defended by the same principles. For to consider *Moses's character* : was he *not divinely inspired and assisted* in the same extraordinary manner in all *the Events of war*, as in all *the Arts of peace* ? by *stretching out his rod* he could drown a mighty host ; by *lifting up his hands* destroy a whole army : is it not then the same diminution of his *divine Authority*, to suppose him under a necessity of recurring to *Fiction* or *Stratagem* in the one case, as in the other ? Considering, I say, the circumstances of *Moses's character*, it seems difficult to make out the difference : yet you roundly assert, and think the assertion innocent, that he might use *all the arts of deceiving in war* ;

but will not suffer me to impute to him the *least possible degree of it in peace*, without *weakening his Authority*.

But as this passage of *my Defence* has generally been thought the most exceptionable of any in *my Two Pieces*; so I must beg leave to recite here my very words, in order to explain my true meaning in them the more clearly: they run thus: *Is the notion then of the Divine Origin of the Law, and the Inspiration of Moses to be resolved into Fiction and Fable, or political Lying?* No, far be it from me to think or say that: but this perhaps one may venture to say; that the supposition of some degree of such Fiction may possibly be found necessary to the solving the difficulties of the Mosaic Writings, without any hurt to their authority or advantage to Infidelity, &c.¹ And here we see after all the cry that has been made against me, I expressly disclaim the *least thought* of saying or doing any thing, that really contradicts the *Divine Origin of the Law or Inspiration of Moses*: and in the next words, where I seem to allow *some degree of Fiction*, I have used all the terms of *reserve, doubt and diffidence*, that can possibly be crowded into any sentence: *perhaps; may venture; some degree; may possibly be found*: which can by no means imply a persuasion, but an hint only to ground a question upon. And that still, upon a supposition, that such a ques-

¹ Defence, p. 45.

tion can do *no manner of hurt to the authority of Moses, or service to Infidelity*. When the reader has duly reflected on this, then let him consider, how justly I have been accused from the evidence of this passage, of calling in question *the Divine Inspiration of the Scriptures*.

To return to the testimony of *Clemens*: where tho' it seems needless to say any thing more of a *translation*, which bears equally in either sense to the point in question; yet as I never translated any passage with design to make it bear more than it would strictly carry; so I think myself obliged to give some account here, why I translated the word, *σπαρῆγμα*, by the *Art of governing in general*, and not, as you would have it, the *Art of governing in war*: and for this I had the following reasons.

That tho' I well knew the word, *σπαρῆγῆν*, to signify properly, *to lead an army or govern it in war*, in the old *Classick Authors*, yet I knew withal, that in the time of *Josephus*, and of the *Ecclesiastical Writers* especially, who lived after him, the word had lost its *proper, original sense*, and was applicable to denote *Civil Magistracy or Government in general*. Thus *Moses* is commonly called by *Josephus* the *σπαρῆγὸς of the Jews*, not in the notion of a *General or Leader of an army*, but of *supreme Governor or Magistrate*. And this, as in many other places, so in that

particularly, where he appears in the meer form of a *Civil Magistrate*, and in the very act of *bearing and judging civil causes* ¹. His successor *Joshua* is in like manner always stiled the *στρατηγὸς*, in the sense of *general Governor* ². And what's most to the point, *Joseph*, in his government of *Ægypt*, where he had no *military command*, is called in the same sense, *στρατηγός*: where a *learned Critick* in a marginal note observes, that *this word had in that age lost its relation to war, and denoted Civil Power or Government in general* ³. In which sense the *Ecclesiastical Writers* generally use it, as *Valesius* has fully shewn ⁴; and as every body will find from the old *Lexicons* and *Glossaries* ⁵.

This being then the common acceptation of the word in the age of *Clemens*, an admirer of *Josephus*; and *στρατηγὸς* carrying the notion of a *general Governor* or *Magistrate*; 'tis certain that *στρατήγημα*, considered singly, may truly and properly be rendered by the *Art of governing*, without any respect to *war*. And as the context in this place seemed somewhat perplexed and obscure; so I was not curious to consider, whether it ought

¹ Antiq. l. 3. 4. Item, l. 4. 4. §. 7. &c.

² Ibid. l. 5. 1. §. 1, 3, 29.

³ Ibid. l. 2. 6.

⁴ Vales. Not. ad lib. 31. Ammiani Marcell. c. vi. it. Not. ad Euseb. Hist. Ecclesiast. l. 7. c. xi. not. 6. it. ad Euseb. l. 8. c. xi. not. 4.

⁵ Du Fresne. it. Lexic. Vet. ad finem Operum S. Cyrilli: H. Steph. Thes.

to be rendered the *Art of Government, Civil or Military*, since it was obvious to reflect, as I have observed above, that in either sense it comes to *much the same thing*.

As to the fact itself, whether *Plato did really borrow any thing from Moses or not*, I am no way concerned for the truth of it; but shall leave it to *these Fathers* to answer for it: what they have delivered concerning it, might be with a view to recommend their Religion to the *Greeks*, agreeably to what *Clemens* himself declares, that *as the Apostle became a Hebrew to the Hebrews, so it was reasonable to become a Greek to Greeks*. And the very passage we have been examining may, for any thing I know, be one of those *unsound ones*, which *Photius* tells us are to be found in this very work of *Clemens*¹.

I shall now at last explain myself more particularly on the two most important points of this Controversy;

1. *The Allegorical Exposition of the History of the Creation and Fall of Man.*
2. *The Divine Origin and Inspiration of the Scriptures.*

As to the first of these, you charge me with asserting, that *the literal sense is in fact contradictory to reason and the notions we have of God*². But here, Sir, you either mistake my meaning thro' want of attention, or thro'

¹ Photii Biblioth. p. 233.

² Reply to Defence, p. 48.

design misrepresent it. I had said in *my Letter*, that *all Commentators are forced in some measure to desert the literal meaning*¹: and in my *Defence*, where I have further explained myself, that *if it be found in fact contradictory to reason and the notions we have of God, we must necessarily desert it*². The first I shall still assert to be true; and the latter all Divines whatsoever will allow to be so. But to reject the *literal sense conditionally*, and on supposition only of *its being contrary to reason*; which is all that I have done, or designed at least to do, is a quite different thing, from what you charge me with; *the asserting it to be in fact contradictory to reason*. So that the very foundation you build upon, of my having *absolutely rejected the letter*, is false, since I reject it only *hypothetically or conditionally*. Besides; by *deserting the Letter*, there's no necessity to understand an *absolute denial or rejection of all historical sense* in it; but a preference only of the *Allegorical* in some particular cases, as the properest basis for a *rational Defence of Religion*.

Now in this very *History of the Creation*, I find the *Commentators* greatly divided and disagreeing among themselves, in their several methods of explaining it. Some prefer the *Allegorical Sense*, others the *Literal*; most indeed allow, that *both* are consistent, and may

¹ Letter, p. 13.

² Defence, p. 15.

be used together: but all take a liberty of applying each arbitrarily, without any certain rule, just as their several systems or fancies incline them ¹. So that 'tis not possible to draw from them all, any uniform and certain principle of true belief and interpretation. 'Tis this I refer to, this I complain of in the *Defence of my Letter* ²: that those who defend Religion so *dogmatically*, do not state and define what it is, *that we Christians are obliged to believe* of this story: that they do not determine *the bounds of Letter and Allegory*; do not fix some *settled rule* of applying them; but *jump*, as I say, *arbitrarily from one to the other*, as each man's whim directs him. And in this uncertainty and latitude of interpretation, 'tis ridiculous to charge particular opinions with *Infidelity*, that offend against no established maxim or rule of exposition.

After trifling a while about the word, *Mystery*, in a manner that deserves no answer, you collect the substance of your charge into one point, *viz.* that I alledge *in favour of Allegory, that the Primitive Fathers esteemed it on many occasions the only method of vindicating Scripture* ³. This you treat as a *bold and rash Assertion*, and exert all your Strength and Learning to prove it so; declaring, that

¹ Les écrits des Peres & de la plupart des Interpretes en sont pleins; & ces sortes d'explications sont souvent arbitraires. Calmet. Comment. Pref. Gen. p. 11.

² Defence, p. 13.

³ Reply to Defence, p. 51.

I have mistaken the sense of every one of the testimonies produced to confirm it. Here then we will once more join issue, and examine the truth of your allegation and mine: where the Reader, I dare say, will not be so much surprized at my boldness in affirming, as at yours, in so rashly denying a fact, which is evident and known to all, who are conversant in *Ecclesiastical Antiquity*.

As for Origen; in the remains still left us of his Works, we have proof enough of his attachment to the *allegorical Exposition* and contempt of the *literal*. St. Jerom, speaking of him declares, *that he turned the story of Paradise so wholly to Allegory, as to destroy or take away all the literal truth of it: by the Trees, understanding Angels; by the Rivers, Cælestial Virtues; &c¹*. And the same Father, giving an account of another Greek Expositor, he had been reading, on the story of Melchisedec, says just the same of him too, *that he allegorized the whole in such a manner, as to destroy the historical truth of it²*.

St. Austin tells us; *that there were some, who interpreted the whole account of Paradise of things to be understood spiritually or allegorically, as if the things themselves had not been really visible, or corporal, but delivered for the sake of those spiritual significations³*. And

¹ Hieron. Op. T. 4. par. 2. p. 310. Edit. Benedict.

² Ib. Tom. 2. par. 1. p. 574.

³ De Civ. Dei. l. 13. c. xxi.

tho' he declares on this occasion for *holding fast the Letter, along with the Allegory*; yet 'tis certain that he had once been of a different mind, and thought, that we could not explain *the History of Man's Fall piously and worthily of God but in the allegorical way*¹; and seems to have always held the same constant opinion, as to *the six days of the Creation*, and to have looked upon them as *wholly allegorical*².

Thus, Sir, in direct contradiction to what you maintain, there were *several Writers in the primitive ages, who thought the best way of vindicating Scripture in some instances to be by the help of Allegory, even to the desertion of the Letter*: and this without any imputation on their zeal or sincerity in their Religion, or the least suspicion of *Infidelity*. 'Twas the same case with the *Jewish Apologists*, particularly *Philo*, from whom I had drawn some testimonies to the very point: but you tell me peremptorily, *that I have mistaken the sense of every one of them*³. And to give us a general view in what sense *Philo* is to be understood, you observe, *that he more than once cautions his readers against departing from the letter of the Old Testament, and says, that all the Ceremonies relating to the Worship of the Temple and a thousand other precepts would be neglected, if we were to confine ourselves only to the allegorical*

¹ De Genes. contr. Manich. l. 2. c. iii.

² De Civ. Dei. l. 11. c. xxx. ³ Reply to Defence, p. 51.

Interpretation. But what is this to the purpose? Or how does it confute what I have advanced? Is there the least hint in *my Letter*, or the *Defence of it*, that *Philo* or the *Primitive Writers* maintained the *whole sense of Scripture to be allegorical*? Might not *Philo* believe the *general sense* to be *literal*, and yet hold some *particular passages* to be wholly *allegorical*? This surely is consistent, and that it was the very case, we shall presently see. For instance; *the Law*, says *Philo*, *accounts the Camel an unclean beast, because, tho' he chews the cud, he does not divide the hoof*; now if we consider this according to the outward *Letter*, 'tis hard to say, what sense there is in it; but if according to the inward meaning; there is a most clear and necessary one, &c. which he proceeds to explain. This passage I had produced before¹; but as you have said nothing to it in *your Reply*, I must confront you with it once again, the better to confine you to the true state of the question. Let me ask you then, whether *Philo*, in this instance, does not actually vindicate Scripture by its allegorical meaning, in opposition to the literal one? If he does; then all you have been saying about him has neither truth nor sense in it: if he does not; then I am content to take whatever shame you please to throw upon me; even the share you so candidly give me of *Mr. Woolston's shame*².

¹ Defence, p. 17. ² Reply to Defence, p. 51.

You say that Philo turns almost every thing to Allegory ; and yet by your use of him, one would imagine, that he had turned nothing to Allegory. But to drop for the present what you or I think, let's see what other men of Learning, not heated in this Controversy, have thought of him with regard to this very question. Philo, says Photius, wrote expositions on the Old Testament, turning almost every where the Letter to Allegory : and from him all that custom of allegorical Interpretation flowed into the Church¹.

Sixtus Senensis tells us of him, that he affirms it to be a piece of rustick simplicity to believe literally, that the World was created in six days or in any certain time. And that several Catholic Authors had followed his opinion, as Austin among the Latins, and Procopius among the Greeks²: That he so treats what Moses has said of Paradise, as to destroy the literal Sense of it ; making the Garden, the Plants, and the other things described in it to contain nothing but Allegory. In which error he was followed, he says, by Origen, and very many Writers besides, as he shews afterwards³ : and he declares, that St. Ambrose likewise in imitation of Philo seems to have understood the story of Paradise wholly according to Allegory, rejecting the historical Sense of it⁴. And if we would know this Author's

¹ Phot. Biblioth. p. 277. ² Sixt. Senens. Biblioth.
³ Ibid. p. 338. ⁴ Ibid. p. 341.

own opinion of *allegorical Interpretation*; he affirms it to be *by far the most useful for the establishment of our Faith, and the institution of our Manners*: and says further, *that should the enemies of the Law and the Prophets object to us and demand, for what reason God gave such absurd Laws; to cut off the Foreskin, kill the Lamb, the Goat, &c. we should have no way of defending ourselves but by the allegorical Sense; without which all those things must needs appear insipid, rustick, and wholly unworthy the Divine Majesty* ¹. And now, have I advanced any thing like this in favour of Allegory? Yet the Author who has advanced it, was a man highly esteemed and celebrated in his own time, not only for his Learning, which was great, but for his *Piety and sincere Zeal for Religion*, which were allowed to be as great.

To this Writer, who was a *Papist*, I shall just add a *Protestant*, *Rivet*; who in these points was as *highly orthodox*, and as great an *Advocate of the Letter* as your self. Who declares, that *St. Austin held the six days of the Creation to have an allegorical Meaning only, and that Philo, Procopius, Cajetan* are of the same opinion ². Of the last of whom he intimates, that he held the *literal story of Eve formed from the rib of Adam to be a silly one* ³.

By this time the Reader will be able to

¹ Sixt. Senens. Biblioth. l. 3. p. 141. ² Rivet. Exercitat. in Genes. c. 1. p. 9. Op. T. 1. ³ Ibid. Oper. T. 2. p. 936.

judge how *rash* or *bold*, as you say, my Assertion is, *that the Primitive Fathers and Jewish Apologists esteemed the allegorical Exposition to be on some occasions the best method of vindicating Scripture.* But because you push me so vigorously on this question, I must beg leave to dwell a little longer on it.

Josephus reflecting on the calumnies charged on the *Jews*, and the ridicule they underwent on the account of the *Tabernacle* and *priestly Vestments*¹, says, that *whoever seriously considers the fabrick and construction of them, will find the Lawgiver to have been a Divine Man, and that they are falsely reproached on this score.* For if we duly examine the particulars with judgment and without envy, we shall discover them all to have been formed in imitation, or as a typical representation of the *Universe* and its several parts: and he proceeds to explain this analogy or similitude thro' all its particulars. The *Tabernacle* thirty cubits long, divided into three parts, denotes, he says, the *earth*, the *sea*, the *heavens*: the *twelve loaves*, the *twelve months*: the *seven branches of the candlestick*, the *seven planets*, &c. Now what is all this but recurring to *Allegory*, in order to vindicate Scripture from the *cavils* and *ridicule* of *Scepticks*?

I had produced likewise in my *Defence* a testimony from *Barnabas*; where this *Apostolical Writer* declares, that *Moses* in pro-

¹ Antiq. l. 3. c. 7.

*hibiting Swine's flesh, meant only to prohibit the keeping company with such, as in their manners are like to Swine*¹. And what do you say to this passage in your Reply? Why, you allow it to be a *strong one* to the purpose; yet have the assurance to say, that I have *mistaken every passage produced to that purpose*².

I have alledged also *two other Quotations*, on the authority of *Cotelerius*, from *Tertulian* and *Origen*. Where the first says, that *nothing is so contemptible as the Mosaic Laws about the distinction and prohibition of animal food*. And the latter more freely; *that if we take them literally they are unworthy of God, and less rational than the Laws of men; nay that some of them are contrary to reason and impossible to be observed*³. And here you take notice, that I have stopped short, not like a lover of truth, without acquainting the reader with an observation, that follows, of *Cotelerius* himself: *that on the contrary very many passages might be collected out of the same Authors, which speak in praise of the same Laws*⁴. But has *Cotelerius* produced any of those passages? if he had, it would have been pertinent to consider, how far they had balanced, or superseded the other. But since he has not done this, and what he has said is not, as you have given it, but what should be rendered, that *many passages might be collected*

¹ Def. p. 17.

² Reply to Def. p. 51, 55.

³ Def. p. 17, 18

⁴ Reply to Def. p. 55.

from the same Fathers, expressed more commodiously in praise of the same Laws: so, till we see the passages themselves, and understand the force of what you had left out, more commodiously; the different passages may, for any thing we know to the contrary, be very well reconciled.

But you affirm, that *Cotelerius himself has wholly mistaken the sense of Tertullian; and for the passage of Origen, it effectually carries its own disproof with it*¹. We shall presently see what judgment you shew in this affirmation. *It is plain, you say, that Tertullian is speaking ironically, of what Marcion and the Hereticks, and not what himself thought of those Laws.* But it will be as plain, I doubt, that tho' he is speaking of the *Railleries of the Hereticks*, yet he allows the ground of that Raillery to be true, and owns the fact, that the *Laws are really foolish and contemptible in themselves*, according to the dictates of *human Wisdom*, and that God made use of them for the very reason of *their being contemptible*, in order to baffle the *knowledge and learning of the wise*.

In the other passage, you bring from *him*, he is only suggesting some reasons which the *Divine Providence* might have for the institution of such Laws: to give *a lesson of abstinence*, and *a check to that gluttony*, which, (as he adds in words that you have wholly omitted) *when it was eating the food of Angels, yet longed for the Melons and Cucumbers of Ægypt*. An omission, I don't take notice of, for the sake of clamour-

¹ Reply to Defence, p. 56, 57.

ing, as you do, about *falsifying and misrepresenting*; but to shew how dextrously you can skip over *a sore place*; and evade the touching on any thing, that intimates *an inclination in the Jews to the things of Ægypt*. And were I to insist on the passage for any purpose of this Controversy, you *would demonstrate*, I dare say, *against Tertullian*, just as you did *against St. Stephen*, that *there was not so much as a Cucumber in Ægypt in Moses's time*.

As to the testimony of *Origen*, it carries, you say, *its own confutation with it*. But, pray Sir, recollect here, what you are so apt on all occasions to forget, the *real state of the question*; which does not turn on the truth or falshood of what *Origen* has said, but on the fact, *whether he has said it or no*. If he has said it, then my affirmation is true; *that the Primitive Writers esteemed the allegorical way on some occasions to be the only method of vindicating Scripture*; and the negative you maintain is false. But I am at a loss to understand, how this *notion of Origen confutes itself*. Why, he asserts, you say, *that to be impossible, which in fact he knew to have been always observed*. But this shews only the negligence of your own attention: for how could he be so gross, as to charge an *impossibility*, on what he *really knew to be true*? Every one, I dare say, will see at once, that he meant something very different from what you imagine; viz. *that some of those Laws, which the Jews constantly observed, were yet from the nature of things impossible to be observed, in that full rigour*
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and strictness, which the literal command imports, and of which no exception or abatement was signified. For instance; the Law, that prohibits the eating of blood, is absolute; and the thing itself forbidden in any manner or degree; and whoever eats it in any manner was to be cut off¹. Now is it possible to eat any flesh meat, without eating blood in some manner or some degree? This might perhaps be one of the *Laws*, that Origen had regard to: where it may be answered; that God requires only an obedience adequate to our power; and when we have discharged that, we have satisfied the Law however absolute, or rigorous: yet what you answer is nothing to the purpose, and the effect only of your own mistake.

But since you seem to have so slight an opinion of Origen, as to think him absurd enough even to confute himself; I will just give you a short character of him, from a greater man than yourself; one of the greatest that ever lived; Erasmus: who declares, that in the *Exposition of the Scriptures*, allowing for some particular points of Faith, he would prefer one Origen to ten Orthodox².

And now, to give my own opinion of this question; I take the use of *Allegory in the History of the Creation and Fall of Man*, to be in some degree necessary, to establish the truth of the Christian Religion; since all Expositors, who have considered with most attention the general

¹ Levit. iii. 17. vii. 26, 27. ² At ego in Scripturarum enarratione, unum Origenem decem Orthodoxis anteposuerim, exceptis aliquot dogmatibus fidei. in Gal. ii. 11. Crit. Sacr.

Scheme of Christianity, however differing in other points, have commonly agreed in this. *Calmet* declares, that it is extremely difficult to expound the first Chapters of *Genesis* literally; especially as to what regards the Fall of Man and the Story of the Serpent: and that the Jews do not suffer their young men under the age of twenty five or thirty years to read them. And *Dr. W.* himself, in vindicating one passage of this very History, about God's walking in the Garden, says, that a Man must be next to an Idiot, who understands it literally. As to the Letter, one thing at least is certain, and we may assuredly draw this historical truth from it; that God in the beginning created the World and all things in it; and placed Man in a state of bliss and happiness from which he fell by his own sin and folly. But whether this was brought about exactly and literally, according to every circumstance of the Mosaic account; with all the Form and Machinery, of six days labour; a Paradise; &c. as it is not, in my judgment, material to inquire, so I shall not take upon me to determine. All that I need say further on it is; first, that I never meant to reject the Letter of Scripture absolutely in any case, but where 'tis found inconsistent with Reason and the Attributes of God: and there all Divines whatsoever must agree with me in rejecting it. Secondly, that had I absolutely rejected it in some cases; I had yet done no more than what several Apologists of Christianity in all ages had done before me, whose piety and zeal for Religion were never called in question on that account.

I shall now in the last place give a distinct account of my Sentiments, concerning the *Divine Origin and Inspiration of the Scriptures*. And as in my *Letter to Dr. W.* I had declared myself a *sincere Christian*, and repeated the same declaration in my *Defence* of it; so I had reason to expect, that however free and offensive any of my expressions might appear to some, whom a narrow circle of life and studies had rendered stiff in particular habits and opinions, yet in vertue of such a declaration *my belief of an Article so fundamental*, would have been presumed and taken for granted; and that I should have been safe at least from the *groundless and spiteful charge of Infidelity*: since in the character of a *Christian* I take to be necessarily included a *general belief of the Divine Origin and Inspiration of the Books of the Old and New Testament*: a doctrine too clearly delivered *in the Scriptures*, to be doubted of and called in question by any one, who lays claim to that title. And as to the particular character and case of *Moses*; I take him to have been a *great Prophet and Lawgiver*, who in an *extraordinary and miraculous* manner was *favoured, assisted, and inspired by God in the institution of his Laws and Religion*, and consequently had a *Divine Authority*, which is frequently appealed to and confirmed *in the New Testament*.

But as 'tis necessary to believe of the *Scriptures in general*, that they are *Divinely inspired*; so 'tis as necessary, from the evidence of plain facts and declarations in *those very Scriptures*,

to allow some exception to *the general rule* ; nor to insist, as some do, that *every word, sentence, narration, history* ; or indeed *every Book*, we call *canonical*, was *dictated by God*.

This is the only notion expressly affirmed by me, that can be thought to *weaken* in any manner *the Divine Authority of the Christian Religion* : and 'tis indeed the only one I ever intended to affirm on the subject : and if any thing be said or pushed further by me in either of my Pieces, than what the consequences of this position will fairly justify, I retract and disclaim it.

Here then I fix my foot ; and take upon me to assert, that we are under no obligation of *Reason or Religion* to believe, that *the Scriptures are of absolute and universal Inspiration* ; or that *every passage* in them was dictated by a *Divine Spirit* : and this I do from no other motive or view in the world, but a firm persuasion of the truth of it ; and a persuasion likewise, that the allowance and declaration of that truth is not only useful, but necessary to a *rational Defence of Religion*.

Now as this, I say, is the only opinion, that I have directly asserted in this Controversy, without the least notice taken of it by you in *either of your Replies* ; so did I not see you disposed rather to *cavil at trifles*, than to *join issue* on any question of importance, I might reasonably take it for a proof, that you look upon it as *orthodox and inoffensive*. However since passion and prejudice have so great a power in
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the world; and the seeds of rage may be already at work in the breasts of some readers on the bare mention of such a proposition; I cannot but think it prudent, before I enter on any explication of it, to place in front before me *an authority or two of great name*, in order to break the force of the storm, which, by what I have already experienced, I have too much reason to be apprehensive of.

The first authority I shall produce is of *Archbishop Tillotson*; whose words, in a *Sermon* on this very Subject, are as follows.

I shall only say this in general; that considering the end of this Inspiration, which was to inform the world certainly of the mind and will of God, it is necessary for every man to believe, that the inspired Penmen of Scripture were so far assisted as was necessary to this end: and he that thinks upon good grounds, that this end cannot be secured, unless every word and syllable were immediately dictated, he hath reason to believe it was so: but if any man upon good grounds thinks the end of writing the Scripture may be sufficiently secured without that, he hath no reason to conclude, that God, who is not wanting in what is necessary, is guilty of doing what is superfluous. And if any Man is of opinion, that Moses might write the History of those actions, which he himself did or was present at, without an immediate Revelation of them; or that Solomon, by his natural and acquired Wisdom, might speak those wise sayings, which are in his Proverbs; or the Evangelists might write what they heard and saw, or what they had good assurance of from others; as St. Luke

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tells

tells he did; or that St. Paul might write for his Cloak and Parchments at Troas, and salute by name his friends and brethren; or that he might advise Timothy to drink a little wine, &c. without the immediate dictate of the Spirit of God, he seems to have reason on his side. For that men may without an immediate Revelation write those things, which they think without a Revelation seems very plain. And that they did so, there is this probable argument for it, because we find the Evangelists in relating the discourses of Christ, are very far from agreeing in the particular expressions and words, though they do agree in the substance of the Discourses: but if the words had been dictated by the Spirit of God, they must have agreed in them. For when St. Luke differs from St. Matthew, in relating what our Saviour said, it is impossible, that they should both relate it right, as to the very words and forms of expression; but they both relate the substance of what he said, &c. ¹

Now if we reflect on the difference of style in a Sermon, from that of a debate in a Controversy of Learning; and consider the reserve proper to the one, and the freedom necessary to the other; we shall find that I have affirmed nothing more in effect, than what this great Man had delivered from the Pulpit. He tells us, we see, that those who do not believe Moses to have been universally inspired in writing his Books, seem to have Reason on their side; and suggests some probable arguments to prove,

¹ Tillotson's Works, Vol. III. p. 449.

that the Evangelists in composing theirs had no Revelation at all.

To the authority of the Archbishop, I shall add that of Grotius; whose words are: *I have truly said, that all the Books in the Hebrew Canon were not dictated by the Holy Ghost: that they were written with a pious affection of mind, I do not deny: and this is what the Great Synagogue determined, to whose judgment the Hebrews in this matter stand. But there was no occasion for histories to be dictated by the Holy Spirit: 'twas enough for the Writer to have a good memory as to the things related, or diligence in copying the old Records. Besides, the word, Holy Ghost, is ambiguous; for it either signifies, as I have taken it, a Divine Inspiration, such as the ordinary Prophets had, as also David and Daniel sometimes; or it signifies a pious motion or impulse to deliver some salutary precepts of life, or things political and civil; in which sense Maimonides takes it, where he treats of Writings either historical or moral. If Luke had written his Books by the dictates of Divine Inspiration, he would have chosen rather to establish his Authority on that, than on the faith of the witnesses he followed. So in writing the Acts, which he had seen done by Paul, he had no need of any Inspiration. Why then do we receive Luke's Books as Canonical? because the Primitive Church judged them to be piously and faithfully written, and concerning things of the greatest moment to Salvation.*

Under the shelter of these great names, of the most rational Preacher, and the most rational

¹ Grot. Votum pro pace. Artic. de Canonicis Scripturis. Op. T. 4. p. 672.

Expositor of Scripture, that any *Christian age* has produced, I may venture to open my own opinion the more freely; so far at least, as to shew the grounds on which 'tis built, which is all I think necessary at present, reserving the fuller discussion of it to an opportunity of more leisure.

Now in searching *the Scriptures*, to discover the real state of this question, I found it to no purpose to lay much stress on those texts, that are usually alledged on the occasion; since by admitting a latitude and variety of interpretation they furnish nothing decisive, but leave room still for fresh and endless squabbles: my business was to consider chiefly the *matters of fact* delivered there; the surest foundation to build any persuasion upon; and to attend to the plain sense and language of *those facts*, when stript of the glosses and forced interpretations which *Commentators* would fasten on them in favour of *their systems* and *prejudices*.

For instance, as soon as *the Children of Israel* had made their retreat from *Aegypt*, and got any time to repose themselves in the wilderness; we find *Moses* employing himself *from morning to night in judging the people*, by bearing and deciding all causes of dispute among them: this *Jethro his Father-in-law* observing, and reflecting on the fatigue and trouble it occasioned both to *Moses and the people*, took the liberty to represent to him *the inconveniences of this method*, and to convince him, that it was quite wrong, and what must of course tire out both himself and the multitude. He advised him therefore for his own ease, as well as the pub-

lick good, to chuse out a number of able and honest men, to be set over the people as *their Judges or Rulers* in all ordinary cases; in a proper subordination to each other according to their several abilities; *Rulers over thousands, over hundreds, over fifties, over tens*; reserving to himself the cognizance only of *greater causes*: That he might not be drawn off from the more important part of his duty, *his attendance upon God, and the care of his Religion*. Upon which, *Moses*, as we read, *hearkened to the voice of his Father-in-law, and did all that he had said*¹. And from what is related afterwards of the same fact, we learn, that *Moses* had the *solemn consent and approbation of the people*, before he put it in execution². *Josephus*, in his account of this story, takes occasion very justly to praise *the modesty and ingenuity of Moses*, in not assuming to himself the credit of an invention so useful, but frankly ascribing all the glory of it to its true Author³.

Now the inference I draw from this, is, that it appears very clearly from this plain fact, that *Moses* in the case of an Institution of great importance to the whole body of his people, and to the good order and government of the Community, had not the assistance of any divine Inspiration, but derived the whole thought and design of it, from the advice and counsel of a wise and prudent man, of whom all that we know is, that he was *Priest of Midian*. If then there was no Inspiration in the thing itself, there could be no occasion for any in the narration of it; and consequently *Moses was not constantly*

¹ Exod. xviii. 24.² Deut. i. 13.³ Antiq. l. 3. c. 4.

and uniformly inspired by God, either in what he instituted, or what he has related.

As to what Bishop Tillotson has suggested in the other case of the *Evangelists*; and Grotius more particularly in *treat of St. Luke*; 'tis certain, that there is in the *several Gospels* such a *disagreement and variation in the accounts of the same facts*, as cannot by any wit of man be cleared from the charge of *Inconsistency*. As in the *Genealogy of Christ*¹; in the account of the *woman who poured a box of ointment*²; of *two men possessed with Devils*³; of *two blind by the way side*⁴; of the *Thieves on the Cross*⁵; of the *time and hour of our Saviour's crucifixion*⁶; of the *circumstances of what passed at his Sepulchre*⁷, &c.

The Commentators, I know, have with fruitless pains strained hard to reconcile these differences; and work them all up into one uniform and consistent narration: but it had been, in my opinion, of more service to Religion, had they been content rather to acknowledge fairly, what cannot be denied honestly, than labour as they do to support notions in opposition to things; systems in contradiction to facts. For all these variations, as they affect only the circumstances, and not the reality of the facts themselves; so they are so far from hurting the cause of Christianity, or casting any blemish on the veracity of the *Evangelists*, that they the more effectually confirm it.*

¹ Mat. i. 1. Luke iii. 24. ² Matth. xxvi. 6. Mar. xiv. 3. Luke vii. 38. John xii. 1. ³ Matth. viii. 28. Luke viii. 26. ⁴ Matth. xx. 30. Mar. x. 46. Luke xviii. 35. ⁵ Matth. xxvii. 44. Mar. xv. 32. Luke xxiii. 39. ⁶ Mar. xv. 25. John xii. 14. ⁷ Matth. xxviii. 2. Luke xxiv. 4. John xx. 11.

This very thing, says Theophylact, gives the stronger proof of their integrity, that they have not agreed in all points: for otherwise they might be suspected to have written by compact ¹.

Mark is observed by all *Expositors* to tread so closely on the steps of Matthew, and to agree so minutely with him in the circumstances and even words of many of his narrations; that some believe him to have had the use of Matthew's Gospel towards the forming his own: and what does Religion gain by the bargain? What fruit does it reap from this great harmony? Why, to find Mark's authority diminishing in proportion to his exact agreement with Matthew, and the character of an Evangelist dwindling into that of a Transcriber; which the Criticks generally impute to him ². The case would be still worse, were the same minute agreement observed in the other Gospels; and the strong foundation of a Quadruple Testimony would by that means be reduced to the questionable credit of a single Evidence; so that as Dr. Hammond has judiciously remarked; these variations in the Evangelists were necessary to make their testimonies several, and so to give them the greater authority by the number of them ³. But

¹ Δι' αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ το μᾶλλον ἀληθεύειν, ὅτι μὴ κατὰ πάντα ὁμοφώνησαν, &c. Theophyl. Proœm. in Matt.

² Marcus pedissequus & brevior ejus videtur, *August. de Conf. Evan. l. 1. p. 3.*

Marci Evangelium ejus, quod a Matthæo proditum est, videri potest Epitome. *Erasm. in Luc. i. 1.*

Marcus autem Græcè compendium magis historiæ, quam historiam scripserat. *Grot. Ibid.*

Usum esse Marcum Matthæi Evangelio, apertum facit collatio. *Grot. in Mar. i.*

³ *Hammond's Præf. to Annotat. on Tit. Gospel, p. 4.*

But tho' these little *inconsistencies in the Gospels* cannot be of any disservice, but of real use to Religion; yet they effectually confute the common *notion and hypothesis*, that the *Evangelists* in composing them were under the *perpetual influence of a Divine, unerring Spirit*. For as Bishop Tillotson reasons above, if they had been *absolutely inspired*, they must necessarily have *agreed as absolutely* in their several Stories: but *since they are very far from agreeing in their accounts of what our Saviour said*, 'tis impossible that *they should all be inspired*, as 'tis impossible, that *they should all be in the right*. This conclusion is clear and evident to every man's sense and reason; as certain, as the facts, 'tis grounded on, are certain: allow but the facts, and you of course establish this consequence. And in truth, whatever any *Divines* think fit to impute to the *Evangelists*, the *Evangelists themselves* are so far from pretending to this privilege, of *universal Inspiration* or *absolute Infallibility*, that they in effect disclaim it; and put their whole credit on a foundation meerly human, and common to all other Writers; *viz. their capacity or ability to know the truth of what they deliver, and their integrity in delivering it to the best of their knowledge*¹.

St. Paul, we know, declares himself on several occasions *destitute of divine Inspiration*. In the *Epistle to the Galatians*, *I speak*, says he, *after the manner of men*². Where Jerom ob-

¹ Luke i. 1. 2 Jo. xix. 25. it. xxi. 24. it. 1 Ep. Jo. i. 1, 2, 3.

² Gal. iii. 15.

serves, that he makes good what he says, and by his low and vulgar reasoning, and the improper application of certain words, might have given offence to prudent men, had not he prefaced, as he does, by disavowing all pretence to Divine Inspiration³.

Many facts and passages might be produced from the Old and New Testament, to shew, that the Sacred Writers could not be universally inspired: but I have said enough to declare my own opinion, as well as to give a short view of the grounds on which 'tis built, which I shall always be ready to explain more at large, if ever I am challenged to it by any Writer worth my notice.

I have now gone thro' all, that I found necessary to remark on your *second Reply*. What I have omitted to take notice of, was not for want of a proper answer, but that I thought it either too trifling to deserve any; or that it had been sufficiently answered before. And after all this squabbling, the state of the questions affirmed by me in the Dispute stands thus;

1. That the Jews borrowed some of their Ceremonies and Customs from Ægypt.
2. That the Ægyptians were in possession of Arts and Learning in Moses's time.
3. That the Primitive Writers, in order to vindicate Scripture, thought it necessary in some cases to recur to Allegory.
4. That the Scriptures are not of absolute and universal Inspiration.

³ Unde manifestum est, id fecisse Apostolum, quod promissit: nec reconditis ad Galatas usum esse sensibus, sed quotidianis & vilibus, & quæ possent, nisi præmisisset, secundum hominem dico, prudentibus displicere. Hier. Comm. in Gal. 3. Op. T. 4.

These are the *chief* if not the *only facts*, that I have in any manner declared for in *my Two Picces* : and after all that has been said, I do not find the least reason to change my opinion in any of them : they all stand in the end of the Controversy, as firm as they did in the beginning; as every reader will observe: and what greater proof can be given of the impertinence of *Two Replies*, than that they have left *the principal Facts* in dispute in the same state as they found them? If therefore, Sir, you ever attempt a *third*, it will be expected, that you expressly and directly attack *these very Facts*, or else your attempt will be nothing at all to the purpose.

I must observe likewise, that, after all this *clamour and senseless charge of Infidelity*, I have shewn my Sentiments to be entirely agreeable, to what the *zealous and learned Advocates of Christianity* have clearly asserted in all ages, as necessary to a *rational defence of it*. If Religion indeed consists in what *our modern Apologists* seem to place it, the *depreciating moral Duties*, and the *depressing natural Reason*; if the *duty of it* be, what their practice seems to intimate, to *bate, and persecute for a different way of thinking* in points, where the best and wisest have never agreed; then I declare myself an *Infidel*, and to have no share of *that Religion*. But if to *live strictly and think freely*; to practise *what is moral*, and to believe *what is rational*, be consistent with *the sincere profession of Christianity*; then I shall always acquit myself like one of *its truest Professors*.

A
CHARGE

Deliver'd to the

CLERGY

OF

MIDDLESEX,

AT THE

PRIMARY VISITATION

Held *May* 19, 1731.

By DANIEL WATERLAND D. D.
Archdeacon of *Middlesex*.

L O N D O N:

Printed for JOHN CROWNFIELD, at the *Rising-Sun*, in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*, and sold by CORNELIUS CROWNFIELD, Printer to the University of *Cambridge*. MDCCXXXI.



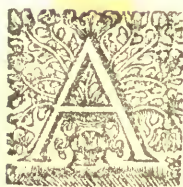


A
C H A R G E

Delivered to the

CLERGY of *Middlesex, &c.*

REV^d. BRETHREN,



AS we are here met together, for the Honour of God, and for the Service of his Church, it may be proper for me to say something of the State of Religion, and the Controversies depending. We live in a disputing Age, and *Infidelity* has been long growing upon us. It began with exploding *Mysteries* in general, and from thence proceeded to a Denial of our Lord's *Divinity* in

particular. Low Notions of the Person of *Christ* are apt to bring in low Notions of his *Merit* and *Satisfaction*, and of the Use and Value of the Christian *Sacraments*, which represent and apply them. And when *Faith* in *Christ's* Blood is once depreciated or frustrated, it is natural to set up *Works*^a, not only as the *conditional*, but as the *efficacious*, or even *meritorious* Cause of Salvation. The next Step is to exalt *Morality* in Opposition to *Faith*, and mere *Morality* in Opposition to *instituted* Religion; which again prepares the Way for looking upon all *revealed* Religion as *needless*, or *useless*, which comes to the same Thing with denying its *Truth*, because an all-wise God can do nothing *in vain*. Such is the Connexion, or Gradation of Error, when once Men desert the Rules of Reason and Sobriety, to follow their own Wanderings; such the obvious and easy Descent from disputing the *Essentials* of revealed Religion, to denying the *whole*. So now our main Concern is, to defend *Revelation* against *Infidelity*;

^a Certe omnes illi qui *divinitatem* Christi in dubium vocant, non possunt non *Satisfactionem* quoque, & Justificationem per *Fidem* solam negare, seque adeo ad *Opera* legis recipere: Quod vel *Socinianorum* exemplo patet. Jo. Francisc. Buddii *Ecclesj. Apostolica*. p. 130.

which

which, one would think, should be a very easy Matter; as indeed it is, if Reason and Argument may prevail. But yet much may be done on the other Side, by a dextrous Application to the Passions and Weaknesses of Mankind: For corrupt Nature is a prevalent Principle, and will always make a strong Party in the World; for which Reason, it concerns us, my Reverend Brethren, as watchful Guardians of the Flock of *Christ*, to be jealous over it, at this Time, with a godly jealousy, and to use our best Endeavours to preserve the Unwary from the Wiles and Artifices of such as *lie in wait to deceive*. Many are the Ways and Means of defending Christianity, well known to this learned Body, and as successfully made use of, both in preaching and writing. I shall content my self with singling out one Argument from the rest, and one much made use of both by Ancients and Moderns. I shall explain it presently, after first taking Notice of the Nature of the Debate now on Foot, between *Christians* and *Infidels*. It appears to be in Substance much the same with what the ancient *Jews* and *Christians* were employ'd in against the *Infidels* of their Times. For the present Unbelievers are setting up what they call *natural*

tural Religion, to rival *Supernatural*; *human Reason* in the Heart of Man, in opposition to *divine Reason* laid down in the Word of God; or to say all in short, *Pagan Darknefs* in opposition to *Scripture Light*. When the Pagans of old presumed in like manner upon their seeming Wisdom, and their imaginary Attainments, despising the only true Wisdom from above, in comparison of their *own*; the good *Jews* and *Christians*, in their respective Times, represented to them, that their boasted Wisdom was, for the most Part, *human Folly*; and that whatever they really knew, or taught, deserving any Praise, they had mostly *borrow'd* it from *divine Revelation*, while they meanly and ungratefully disowned it; but that it was very wrong in them, to drink only of the polluted Streams, instead of coming directly to the Fountain-Head, and Madness to prefer the faint Reflexions of a Cloud, before the open Sun-shine. This is a famous Topick among the ancient Apologists, and has been frequently made use of since, as I have already hinted. And this is what I incline to entertain you a while with, at present. I the rather chuse it, because this Topick has been disputed in

Part by some, and obscured by others, and seems to want a little clearing and settling: Neither indeed is it to be admitted intire and in the gross, without proper Qualifyings and Distinctions. I shall first fairly and fully represent it, as it stood among the ancient *Apolo-*
logists, and shall next endeavour to pass a clear and right Judgment upon it, and to take off unreasonable Exceptions to it.

I shall begin with the *Jewish* Apologists, who led the Way, and who gave the first Hints, which the Christians coming after laid hold of and improved.

Aristobulus, an *Alexandrian Jew*, as is said, and a Peripatetick Philosopher, Preceptor also to *Ptolemy Philometor*, about 160 Years before *Christ*, affirms directly, that both *Pythagoras* and *Plato* had copied many Things from *Moses's* Law, transferring the same into their own Philosophy^b. And to make it appear the more probable, he suggests, that the *Hebrew* Scriptures, or rather some Extracts of them, had been translated into *Greek* before the Time of *Alexander the Great*, and even before the Rise of the *Per-*

^b *Aristobulus apud Clem. Alex. Strom. 1. p. 110, 111. Ed. Oxon. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. ix. c. 6. l. xiii. c. 12.*

sian Monarchy: A Fact, which learned Men have been much divided upon formerly, and do not now commonly admit ^c. But unless he had good Proof of it, it was needless for him to insist upon it, since his main Argument did not require it; for *Pythagoras* and *Plato* might have borrow'd many Things at second or at third Hand, from the *Jewish* Church, without having a Sight of the *Jewish* Scriptures: And *Aristobulus* might have learned from the Testimony of *Me-gasthenes*, a Pagan Writer, who lived about 150 Years before him, that the *Greek* Philosophers had borrowed many of their Notions from the *Jews* ^d. The same *Aristobulus* else-where

^c *Ibid.* Huet. Dem. Evang. Prop. 4. p. 132, 133. Nourrii Appar. ad Bibl. Max. Vol. I. p. 389. Fabric. Bibl. Græc. l. iii. c. 12. p. 316. Prolegom. ad Grab. Septuag. Tom. II. c. 1. prop. 1. Hodi Text. Bibl. p. 570, &c. Jenkin's Reasonableness, &c. Vol. I. p. 93. *There is little Reason to doubt, but that at least Part of the Bible was translated into Greek, before the Time of Alexander the Great. Ibid.*

^d Ἀπαντα μὲν τοι τὰ περὶ φύσεως εἰρημῶνα παρὰ τοῖς Ἀρχαίοις λέγεται παρὰ τοῖς ἔξω τῇ Ἑλλάδι φιλοσοφῶσι. τὰ μὲν παρ' Ἰνδοῖ, τὰ δὲ τῶν Βραχμάνων, τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰσθμῶν. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. p. 360. *confer.* Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. ix. c. 6. p. 410.

N. B. The same Words are quoted by *Cyrril of Alexandria*, as *Aristobulus's own Words* (*Cyrril. contr. Jul. l. iv. p. 134.*)
Probably,

where intimates, that not only *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, but *Socrates* also, and *Orpheus*, and *Hesiod*, and *Homer*, and *Linus* had drank at the same Fountains, enriching their Theology from the holy Scriptures^e; nay, and that *Aristotle's* Philosophy had taken several Things from the Law of *Moses* and from the Prophets^f, or *depended* upon them.

I am aware that a learned Writer^g of our own, has hinted his Suspicion that the Writings going under the Name of *Aristobulus*, were a Forgery of the second Century: And another very considerable Author^h seems in a great measure to favour the Suspicion. But other, as learned Writersⁱ, think, that the Suspicion is not sufficiently grounded, or is far from probable: And some have professedly undertaken to clear up

Probably, because Aristobulus had quoted them from Megasthenes; for Clemens and Eusebius both quote them as Megasthenes's, and the very Manner of Expression shews that they are not Aristobulus's own. See Hody de Bibl. Text. p. 54.

^e *Apud Euseb. Præp. Evangel. l. xiii. c. 12.*

^f *Aristobulus apud. Clem. Alex. Strom. V. p. 705.*

^g *Hody de Bibl. Text. original. l. i. c. 9. p. 49. & l. iv. p. 570.*

^h *Prideaux, Connect. P. II. l. i. p. 38. &c. Conf. Carpzov. Crit. Sacr. p. 490.*

ⁱ *Fabric. Bibl. Græc. l. iii. c. 11. p. 281. Wolfii Biblioth. Hebr. Vol. I. p. 215.*

the objected Difficulties, and to assert the Genuineness of the Writings ascribed to *Aristobulus*^k. I make not myself a Party, or a Moderator in that Dispute : Neither is it necessary that I should, since little depends upon it as to our present Argument. If *Aristobulus*'s Pieces are genuine, then he is the first Man of the ancient Apologists (whom we have any Remains of) that so managed the Dispute in Favour of Revelation against the Pagans : If not, *Josephus* then leads the Way, whom I come next to mention.

Josephus, in his two Books against *Apion*, is very full and particular upon the same Argument. He observes, that the famous *Pythagoras*, the Father of the Pagan Philosophy and Theology, was well acquainted with the *Jewish* Institutes, and was a great Admirer and Follower of them^l: Which he confirms by the Testimony of the Pagan Biographer *Hermippus*, who in his Life of *Pythagoras*, had ob-

^k Whiston's *Appendix to the Literal Accomplishment*, p. 134, *Ec.* 141, *Ec.*

^l Πυθαγόρας τόνον ὁ Σάμιος ἀρχαῖος ὢν, σοφία ἣ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβεῖα πάγων ὑπειλημμένος διενεγκέν τ' φιλοσοφισάντων, εἰ μόνον ἐγνωκώς τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν δηλός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζηλωτὴς αὐτῶν ἐκ πλείεσθ γεγνημένος. *Joseph. contr. Ap.* l. i. c. xxii. p. 453.

served that that Philosopher had taken several of his Notions from the *Jews*, adopting them for his own^m.

Josephus himself adds, that it is said with Truth, that that Philosopher ⁿ*transferred many of the Jewish Rules into his own Philosophy*; thereby confirming what *Aristobulus* had said before. A little after, he observes from *Clearchus*, a Disciple of *Aristotle*, how that Philosopher in his Travels had struck up an Acquaintance with a *Jew* of extraordinary Worth, and had learned much from him^o. Which again confirms what *Aristobulus* reports of *Aristotle's* Philosophy, that it deriv-

^m ταῦτα δ' ἐπετίθετο καὶ ἔλεγε, τοῖς Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ὀρθοκῶν δόξαις μιμνήσκου, καὶ μεταφέρειν εἰς ἑαυτὸν. *Hermipp. ap. Joseph. ibid. p. 453. This Hermippus lived about 250 Years before Christ. See Hod. Bibl. Text. p. 11.*

ⁿ λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκείνου πολλά τ' ᾤοντο Ἰουδαίοις νομιμῶν εἰς τ' ἑαυτῷ μετενεγκεῖν φιλοσοφίαν. *ibid. p. 453.*

He seems here to allude to what had been said by Aristobulus, Πυθαγόρας πολλά τ' παρ' ἡμῶν μετενέγκας εἰς τ' ἑαυτῷ δογματοποιεῖν. Aristobul. ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. i. p. 111. This I note as a probable Argument to prove that Aristobulus's Pieces were then extant; only Josephus would not name him, because the Testimony of one of his own Side would have weighed little with the Adversary.

^o *Joseph. contr. Apion. l. i. c. 22. p. 454, 455. Clem. Alex. Strom. i. p. 358. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. ix. c. 5, 6.*

ed several Things from the Law and Prophets F.

From *Josephus* the Jew, I may now proceed to *Christian* Fathers and Apologists. *Justin Martyr*, in his first *Apology*, expresses himself thus. “ *Moses* is older than any of
“ the *Greek* Writers: And as to what the
“ *Philosophers* and *Poets* have said, either of
“ the *Immortality of the Soul*, or of *Punish-*
“ *ments* after *Death*, or of *Contemplation of*
“ *heavenly Things*, or the like *Doctrines*, they
“ took their *Hints* from the *Prophets*, whom
“ they consulted and built upon; and by
“ this Means some *Seeds of Truth* seem to
“ to have been scattered amongst all: Tho’
“ at the same Time it is evident, from their
“ notorious disagreeing amongst themselves,
“ that they understood not those Things to
“ any Degree of *Exactness* ”.

F See above. p. 9.

Ἡ Περὶ τῶν πρὸς τὴν Μωϋσῆος καὶ προφητῶν τῶν ἐν Ἑλλήσοις ἱστοριῶν
καὶ πάντα ἅτα ἀπὸ ἀναστασιᾶς ψυχῆς, ἡ τιμωριῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν
τοιοῦτον, ἡ θεωριῶν καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐκόντων ὁμοθυμῶν, καὶ φιλοσοφοί καὶ
πονητοὶ ἔδωκαν. ὧς δὲ τῶν προφητῶν τὰς ἀφορμὰς λαβόντες, καὶ
νοήσαντες δεξιότητι καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ. ὅθεν ὧς καὶ πᾶσι ἀπὸ ἐμὴν
συνέθεσεν δοκεῖ εἶναι. ἐπιγχαίρει δὲ καὶ ἀκριβοῶς νοήσαντες, ὅταν
ἴδωμεν ὅτι ἐκαστοὶς λέγασιν. *Just. Mart. Apol. 1. c. 57.*
p. 86. Edit. Ox. p. 67. Cant.

The same *Justin*, in his *Parænesis*, dwells upon the Argument more at large; observing that *Orpheus*, and *Homer*, and *Solen*, and *Pythagoras*, and *Plato* had all been in *Egypt*, and had there learned to improve their Theology by the Help of *Moses's* Writings. He first asserts it in the general ^r, and then goes on to speak more distinctly to every particular^s: And when he comes in the Close, to assign his Reason for insisting so much upon this Topick, he tells his Readers, that it was to convince the *Greeks*, that there was no learning true Religion from them, who had nothing considerable of their *own* to boast of; and as to what they had borrow'd from *Moses* and the *Prophets*, they had so disguised and disfigured it, that they had almost spoiled it ^t. I speak his Sense, tho' not his very Words.

Next to *Justin*, follows his Scholar *Tatian*, who expresses the same Thought more

^r Just. ad Græc. cohort. c. xv. p. 76. Edit. Ox.

^s Just. ibid. c. xv, xvi. — xxxv.

^t Τη χάριν μνημονεύει τήτων νυνι προήχθην, ὧν Ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ἵνα γινώτε τὴν ἀληθῆ διδοτέειαν ἐῖς υἱατὸν ὡς καὶ τήτων μανθάνειν τὴν καὶ ἐν οἷς ὑπὸ τῶν ἑξωθεν ἐθαυμάθησαν, ἰδίον τι γράψαι δυνατέντων, ἀλλὰ διὰ τινος ἐκείνης ἀλληγορίας ὑπὸ Μωσέως καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν προφητῶν ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν συγγράμμασιν ἀπηγγελκότων. Just. Paræn. c. 35. p. 118.

distinctly, and is the best Comment upon him. He observes", that it were much more advisable for the Pagans to take *Moses* himself for their Guide, than to follow the *Greek* Philosophers so much younger, and who had drawn their best Things from him, and not in the best Manner, not like skillful Men: For that many of their Sophists led by vain Curiosity, had come to *Moses* and other *Jewish* Sages for Instruction, but had laboured to adulterate it when they had done; either to make a Show of saying something of their own, or else to cover up what they did not well understand, under a Mist of Words, sophisticating the Truth with devised Fables. To proceed.

Theophilus Bishop of *Antioch*, about the Year of our Lord 180, takes Notice that the Pagan *Poets* and *Philosophers* coming after the sacred Prophets had stollen the Doctrine

¶ Καὶ λέγει τὸ πρῶτον ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ πιστεύειν, ἢ περὶ τοῖς
ἀπὸ τοῦ πηγῆς ἀριστοφόρος Ἑλλησπιν, ἢ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν ταῖς ἐν-
δόξαις. καὶ τοὶ τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ αὐτῶν σοφιστῶν κεχρησμένοι πᾶσι
γὰρ ταῖς αἰσῶσι τῇ κατὰ διάνοιαν καὶ τῇ ὁμοίᾳ αὐτῶν φιλοσοφί-
ᾳ ἐγίνωσκον, ἢ καὶ πρὸς ἁπλοῦς ἐπαρμόδιον. πρῶτον μὲν, ἵνα
τί λεγέται ἡ ἀποκρίσις, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ταῖς αἰσῶσι μὴ συνίστανται,
διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἐκτελέγαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ταῖς μυθολο-
γίαις τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἄλλων σοφιστῶν. Tatian. ad Græc. c. lxi.
135. Folio 100.

of *eternal Punishments* from them, in order to give the more Strength and Weight to their own Writings ^w. In another Place, he intimates, that they had derived the Notion of the *Unity of God* and of a future *Judgment*, from the same Fountain ^x. The like he says afterwards in respect of the Doctrine of the general *Conflagration*, that the Heathen Poets *stole* the Notion from the Law and the Prophets ^y.

But of all the ancient Fathers and Apologists, there is none more copious upon this Argument than *Clemens of Alexandria*. It is very frequent with him to call the Pagan Philosophers and Poets, *Thieves*, or *Plagiarists*, for their stealing so plentifully from the *Jewish Church*, to adorn their own Writings; at the same Time not acknowledging

^w Ὡς τιμωριῶν προφητῶν ὑπὲρ προφητῶν μεταφενέσεσσι γεόμενοι οἱ ποιηταὶ καὶ ζηλοτοποιοὶ ἔκλεψαν οὐ τῶ ἀγίων γραφῶν, εἰς τὸ ὀγκυμεῖν αὐτῶν ἀξιώματα γεννηθῆναι. Theoph. ad Antol. l. i. c. xix. p. 62. Edit. Hamb.

^x Πλὴν ἐνίοτε τινες τῇ ψυχῇ ἐκνήψατες ἐξ αὐτῶν, εἶπον ἀκόλαστα τοῖς προφήταις, ὅπως εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς τε καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ᾤει· τε θεῶν μοναρχίας καὶ κτίσεως, καὶ τῶ λοιπῶν ὧν ἔφασαν. Theoph. l. ii. c. xi. p. 114. conf. 262.

^y Καὶ περὶ ἐκπυρώσεως κόσμου, θείων ἰσχυρῶν, καὶ μὴ θείων ἰσχυρῶν ἀκόλαστα ἐξείπον τοῖς προφήταις, καί περ μεταφενέσεσσι γρηγόριμοι, καὶ κλέψαντες ταῦτα ἐκ νόμου καὶ τῶ προφητῶν. Theoph. l. ii. c. lv. p. 260.

the Obligation ^z. He presses the Charge home upon particular Men by Name, or Bodies of Men : Upon *Pythagoras* ^a chiefly and *Plato* ^b, as the two principal Men ; but upon *Numa* ^c also, and *Thales* ^d, and *Socrates* ^e, and *Cleantes* ^f, and *Antisthenes* ^g ; upon *Xenophon* ^h, and *Aristotle* ⁱ, and the whole Sect of the *Stoicks* ^k. He makes the like Charge upon the Heathen Poets in general ^l ; and particularly upon *Orpheus* ^m, *Linus* ⁿ, *Musæus* ^o, *Homer* ^p, *Hesiod* ^q, and *Pindar* ^r. His Proofs of the Facts are not all of the same Kind, nor of the same Weight. What he urges from external Confessions, or Testimonies of *Pagans* themselves, as from *Megasthenes* ^s, *Clearchus* ^t, *Numenius* ^u, and *Plato* himself ^w, must be owned

^z Clem. Alex. p. 369, 377, 378, 429, 650, 663, 699, 700, 733, 737. Edit. Oxon.

^a Clem. p. 60, 355, 358, 477, 662, 663.

^b Ibid. p. 60, 176, 223, 224, 355, 358, 419, 662, 701, &c. 710.

^c Ibid. p. 358, 359.

^d Ibid. 704.

^e Ibid. p. 701.

^f Ibid. p. 60. 715.

^g Ibid. p. 60.

^h Ibid. p. 60.

ⁱ Ibid. 358, 705.

^k Ibid. p. 699, 708.

^l Ibid. p. 658.

^m Ibid. p. 659, 692.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 659.

^o Ibid. p. 659.

^p Ibid. p. 659, 707, 709.

^q Ibid. p. 659, 708.

^r Ibid. 295.

^s Ibid. p. 360.

^t Ibid. 358.

^u Ibid. p. 411.

^w Clem. p. 355, 358, 697.

to be solid and convincing, so far as it reaches. As to the artificial Arguments, or Presumptions drawn from the *Similitude* of Thoughts or Expressions, taking in the superior Antiquity of *Moses*, and the Certainty of the Fact that many both *Poets* and *Philosophers* had been in *Egypt*, where they might have learned something at first or second Hand from the *Jews*: These and the like Considerations have their Weight and Credibility, but may sometimes easily be extended too far.

The particular Doctrines, Notions, or Principles, which *Clemens* supposes to have been thus borrow'd by the Pagans from the *Jews*, or from sacred Writ, are such as I shall just briefly mention: First, the main Substance, or best Part of their *Ethicks*, or *Morality*^x; next, their most considerable *Laws*^y, either in *Minos's*, or *Lycurgus's*, or *Zaleucus's*, or *Solon's*^z; Mercy towards *brute Beasts*^a; then the *Unity* of God^b; the *Trinity* also^c, and the Sacredness of the *Seventh-Day*^d; the *Omni-presence* or *over-ruling* Power of the Deity^e;

^x Ibid. p. 467.

^y Ibid. p. 422.

^z See p. 422. compare p. 356.

^a Ibid. p. 477.

^b Ibid. p. 714, &c.

^c Ibid. p. 711.

^d Ibid. 713.

^e Ibid. p. 723, 724.

the Doctrine also of the *Resurrection*^f, and of *future Judgment*^g, and of the everlasting *Punishments* in *Hell*^h, with the Blessedness of *Heaven*ⁱ: Add to these the Notion of good and evil *Angels*^k, and of the *Creation* of the World^l, and of the general *Conflagration*^m. Some obscure Knowledge of all these Doctrines, *Clemens* supposes to have been conveyed by *Scripture* or Hear-say, or Tradition from the *Hebrews* to the Gentile World; but that the Pagans had much depraved, or disguised the Doctrines so received.

Tertullian, of the same Century, prosecutes the same Argument, in few, but in strong Words. He tells the Pagans, that they borrowed their *Laws*, such as were of most value, from the older Laws of *Moses*ⁿ. In another Place he asks, Which of their *Poets*, and which of their *Sophists* had not drank

^f Clem. p. 711.

^g Ibid. p. 722.

^h Ibid. p. 700. 701.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 722.

^k Ibid. p. 701.

^l Ibid. p. 701.

^m Ibid. p. 711, 712.

ⁿ Dum tamen sciatis ipsas quoque Leges vestras, quæ videntur ad innocentiam pergere, de *divina* Lege ut antiquiore, formam mutuatas: Diximus jam de *Mosis* Ætate. *Tertull. Apol. c. xlv. p. 372. Edit. Haverc.*

at the Fountain of the *Prophets*ⁿ? And he further says, that from thence it was that the Philosophers had quench'd their learned Thirst : But he intimates withal, that they had corrupted and mangled what they had so taken, and had endeavoured to wrest and warp it to their own Hypotheses^o, not sufficiently considering that a *divine* Writing is privileged from ill usage, and ought not be so profaned.

Minutius Felix expresses the same Thought, observing, that the Philosophers had taken several Things from sacred Writ, but had adulterated what they took, and delivered it but by Halves p.

ⁿ Quis Poetarum, Quis Sophistarum, qui non de Prophetarum Fonte potaverit? Inde igitur & Philosophi sitim ingenii furrigaverunt. *Tertull. Apol. c. xlvii. p. 396. Conf. ad Nation. l. ii. c. ii.*

^o Si quid in Sanctis offenderunt Digestis, exinde regeſtum pro instituto Curioſitatis ad propria verterunt, neque ſatis credentes *divina* eſſe quo minus interpolarent, neque, &c. *ibid. p. 396.*

p Animadvertis Philoſophos eadem diſputare quæ nos dicimus: Non quod nos ſumus eorum veſtigia ſubſecuti, ſed quod illi de *divinis* prædicationibus *Prophetarum*, umbram interpolatæ veritatis imitati ſunt. Sic etiam conditionem renaſcendi ſapientium clariores, *Pythagoras*, & præcipuus *Plato*, corrupta & dimidiata Fide tradiderunt, &c. *Minut F. c. xxxiii. p. 189, 190. Edit. Cant.*

Origen discovers the same Sentiments, in more Places than one of his Treatise against *Celsus*. He refers to *Hermippus*, which *Josephus* had before done, as a Voucher, that *Pythagoras* had borrowed his Philosophy, in part from the *Jews*. In another Place he intimates that *Plato* probably might have learned some Things from the *Jews* in *Egypt*, which he afterwards disguised for fear of giving Offence to the *Greeks*[†]. He elsewhere speaks more positively of *Plato's* borrowing some of his Expressions or Notions, either directly from *Scripture*, or at second Hand from his Converse with the *Hebrews*^s. And he takes Notice also of *Numenius* (a *Pythagorean* of the second Century) his speaking respectfully of the *Jews*[†], and of his borrowing several Things from *Moses* and the *Prophets*^u.

Our next Author is *Lactantius*, who, tho' he agrees with the other Fathers and Apo-

† Αὐτοῦ γάρ ἐστι καὶ ἡ εὐκρίτων ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἀπὸ νομοθετῶν ἱστορικῶν, Πυθαγόραν τὴν ἐκ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀπὸ Ἰσραὴλ, εἰς Ἑλλάδας ἀναγεῖν. Origen. contr. Cels. l. i. p. 13.

† Origen. cont. Cels. l. iv. p. 190.

‡ Origen. ibid. l. vi. p. 282. *conf.* lib. vii. p. 351, 352.

† Origen. ibid. l. i. p. 13.

u Origen. ibid. p. 198

logists in the main Thing, that the *Pagans* did borrow from the *Hebrews* several of their best Notions, yet he seems to differ from them in some considerable Circumstances. For his Opinion appears to be, that they did not receive those Doctrines at first hand, by reading the *Scriptures* themselves, neither yet at the second hand, by conversing with the *Hebrews*, but by a more remote and obscure Channel of Conveyance, by uncertain Hear-say, or blind and very corrupt Tradition^w; so that the Pagan Philosophers did not themselves deprave what they had so taken, but they received it depraved, and could not make it better than they found it. This appears to be *Lactantius's* real Sense of the Matter. Accordingly, he denies that ever *Pythagoras* or *Plato* resorted directly to the *Jews*, or (as his

^w Nullas enim literas veritatis attigerant ; sed quæ Prophetarum vaticinio tradita in sacrario Dei continebantur, ea de *Fabulis & obscura Opinione* collecta, & depravata (ut veritas à vulgo solet variis sermonibus dissipata corrumpi, nullo non addeunte aliquid ad id quod audierant) carminibus suis comprehenderunt. *Lactant. Instit.* l. ii. c. x. p. 95. Edit. Cant.

Quia mysterium divini Sacramenti nesciebant, & ad eos mentio *Resurrectionis* futuræ *obscurorum ore* pervenerat, eam vero temere ac leviter auditam, in modum commentitiæ Fabulæ

his Argument seems to imply) that they conversed at all with them^x.

Some have gladly laid hold on this Passage of *Lactantius*, disliking the Hypothesis of the other Fathers, and looking upon this single Opinion of *Lactantius*, as weighty in it self, and sufficient to counterballance all the rest^y. Others, on the contrary, think that *Lactantius* has betray'd great Ignorance^z in what has said, and that his single Opinion is of small Weight

bulæ prodiderunt. Et tamen iidem testati sunt, non Auctorem se certum sequi; ut Maro qui ait: Sit mihi Fas audita loqui. Quamvis igitur veritatis arcana, in parte, corruerint, tamen ipsa res eo verior invenitur, quod cum Prophetis in parte consentiant; quod nobis ad probationem rei satis est. Id. l. vii. c. xxii. p. 397.

^x Unde equidem soleo mirari, quod cum *Pythagoras*, & postea *Plato*, amore indagandæ veritatis accensi ad *Ægyptios*, & *Magos*, & *Persas* usque penetraissent, — ad *Judeos* tamen non accesserint, penes quos tunc solos [Religio] erat, & quo facilius ire potuissent. Sed averfos esse arbitror divina Providentia, quia nondum fas erat alienigenis hominibus Religionem Dei veri, justitiamque cognoscere. *Lactant. l. iv. c. ii. p. 176.*

^y See *Marshall Can. Chron. Sec. 19. p. 152. Francq. Edit. Clerici Epist. Crit. vii. p. 228. Hodii Text. Bibl. l. iv. p. 571.*

^z Nec enim satis didicerat *Lactantius* five *Pythagoræ*, five *Platonis* res, cum eos minime *Judeos* accessisse scripsit. Id quod ex sequentibus fiet manifestum. *Selden. de Jur. N. & Gent. l. i. c. 2. p. 14.*

Splendide

Weight against many more valuable Writers. Some have endeavour'd to excuse him in this Affair, and to reconcile him with the other Fathers, by saying, that he might mean only that *Pythagoras* and *Plato* did not go into *Judea*, however they might have conversed with *Jews* in *Egypt*, or elsewhere^a. But *Lactantius* probably meant that they never conversed with the *Jews* at all; and his Argument seems to require that he should mean so. In short then, we must either give up *Lactantius*, as to those particular Facts relating to *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, or else set aside a Number of other more considerable Authorities. But as to his main Notion, that the Pagans, many of them, borrowed their best Principles from Revelation *remotely*, and by obscure *Tradition*, rather than by reading of

Splendide ergo hallucinatur *Lactantius*, cum mirari se ait, &c. Conceptis enim verbis tradit *Porphyrius*, in vita *Pythagoræ*, *Agyptios*, *Arabes*, *Chaldaeos* & *Ebraeos* ipsum adiisse, &c. *Huet. Dem. Evang. Prop. iv. p. 45.*

Splendide enim, quum id feril eret, erravisse *Lactantium*, non modo ea quæ produximus Testimonia arguunt, sed & res ipsa loquitur, &c. *Witii Aegyptiaca. l. iii. c. 13. p. 276.*

^a See Baltus defense dez. SS. Peres accusez de Platonisme. l. iv. p. 612. Nourrii Apparatus ad Bibl. Max. Vol. I. p. 386, 387.

sacred Writ, or conversing directly with *Jews*; there appears to be both Sense and Truth in it; of which I shall say more when I come to pass a Judgment upon the general Argument.

I may next mention the learned *Eusebius*, who in his celebrated Treatise of *evangelical Preparation*, takes in almost every Thing that others had said before him, relating to our present Topick. His tenth Book in particular is very diffuse and copious, in shewing that *Plato* and other Philosophers had borrowed much the greatest and best Part of their *Theology* and *Ethicks* from the Holy Scriptures. His 11th Book is taken up in specifying the Particulars wherein *Plato's* Doctrine agrees with sacred Writ; and his 12th and 13th Books carry on the Comparison.

I pass over *Athanasius* and *Philastrius*, whom I shall have Occasion again to mention: I omit *Ambrose*^b also, and *Austin*^c, and *Cyrill*^d, who have some Things to our Pur-

^b Ambros. Serm. ii. in Psalm. 118. Epist. l. i. Ep. 6.

^c Austin. de Doctr. Christian. l. ii. c. 43. Retract. l. ii. c. 4. De civit. Dei. l. viii. c. 11.

^d Cyrill. Alexand. contr. Jul. l. i. p. 29, ——— 34. Lib. ii. p. 47. Edit. Lips.

pose, that I may come the sooner to *Theodoret*, who has treated this Argument as closely, as learnedly, and as judiciously as any of the Ancients, in his *Therapeuticks*. He observes, that the most celebrated Pagan Sages, *Pherecydes*, *Pythagoras*, *Thales*, *Solon*, and *Plato*, had all travelled, in their Times, into *Egypt*, and had there been instructed about the true God, and true Religion; not by the *Egyptians* only at second Hand, but at first Hand also by the *Hebrews* themselves. And for Proof thereof, he appeals to the Testimonies or Confessions of Pagans, such as *Plutarch*, *Porphry*, and *Numenius*^e. He makes mention also of *Pythagoras*'s having been *circumcised*^f during his Stay in *Egypt*, a Rite which the *Egyptians* (he says) must have taken from the *Hebrews*. As to *Plato* in particular, *Theodorus*^g frequently takes Notice, how much that Philosopher had improved his own Sentiments, and enriched his Works by what he had learned of the *Jews*^g.

^e Theodoret. Therapeut. Serm. i. p. 466, 467. Edit. Paris.

^f Theodor. ibid. p. 467. *conf.* Clem. Alex. Strom. i. c. 15. p. 354.

^g Theod. ibid. p. 489, 490, 495, 498, 505, 506, 567.

And he sometimes hints the like of *Anaxagoras* also, and *Socrates*, and *Orpheus*^h. He takes Notice farther, that the Philosophers which lived after *Christ*, namely, *Plutarch*, *Numenius*, *Plotinus*, *Amelius*, and *Atticus* had not only been instructed by the *Old Testament* (as *Plato* before them had been) but by the *New Testament* also, improving their Philosophy with what they had stolen from Both ⁱ. So much for *Theodoret*.

I need not descend lower, to Writers of the sixth, seventh, or later Centuries. Enough has been produced from the earliest Apologists (*Jews* and *Christians*) to give us a just Idea of the Argument, and of what they intended by it. It is now proper I should come to perform what I have promised; namely, to examine strictly what real Truth or Force there is in it.

This Enquiry is the more necessary, because there may be an Extreme either Way, either by extending the Argument too far, laying more Stress upon it, than it can justly bear; or not allowing enough to it, but throwing a Kind of Slight and Contempt upon it. Two very considerable Writers, Sir

^h Theodoret. *ibid.* p. 490, 491, 492, 495.

ⁱ Theodoret. *ibid.* p. 499, 500, 505, 573, &c.

John Marſham ^k, and Dr. *Spencer* ^l, appear to have ſlighted it too much. They have not only called in queſtion the prevailing Opinion of the ancient Apologiſts, but they have run directly counter to it; pretending that the *Pagans* did not borrow from the *Jews*, but that the *Jews* rather copied after the *Egyptians*, or other *Pagans*, in ſuch Inſtances as Both agree in: A ſtrange Way of turning the Tables, confounding Hiſtory and inverting the real Order of Things. But their Pleas and Pretences have been diſtinctly and ſolidly confuted by the learned *Witſius* ^m. The celebrated *Le Clerc* ⁿ has in a great Measure fallen in with the two Gentlemen before mention'd, having a favourite Hypotheſis of his own to ſerve, as they alſo had theirs. But a learned *Frenchman* ^o took the Pains to examine his Reasonings; and to unravel his Fallacies. The moſt ſpecious and plauſible Pretence, which thoſe three learned Moderns

^k Marſham, *Cen. Chron.* Sec. 9. p. 152.

^l Spencer de Leg. Hebr. p. 285, 650. *Edit. Cant.* 1727.

^m *Witſii Aegyptiaca*. p. 277, &c. *conf.* Carpzov *Introd.* d. *Libr. Bibl.* Part. I. p. 45, 105, &c. 483.

ⁿ *Clerici Epilt. Crit.* vii. p. 216, &c.

^o *Baltus deſenſe den SS. Peres*, &c. l. iv. 608, &c.

have gone upon is, that the *Jews* were a small and a contemptible People^p, and that therefore it is much more likely that they should take Rules from the other great and flourishing States, than the contrary. But it is not a fair Account of the *Jews*, to call them a contemptible People, from the Testimony only of a few prejudiced Writers, their bitterest Adversaries, and too much given to romancing; such as *Tacitus*, for Instance, whom *Tertullian* wittily styles *Mendaciorum loquacissimus*^q, and justly too, so far as concerns our present Argument. *Josephus* has well vindicated his Nation (in his two Books against *Apion*, and elsewhere^r) from such unworthy Reproaches, and has abundantly shown how much the *Jews* were respected and honoured even in the Decline of their State, among the Heathen Countries of greatest Figure and Fame: And Scripture it self bears Testimony to the Times going before. Certainly God's Design was, that That Nation should be honoured above all Nations in the Sight of the Heathen, for the excellency of

^p See *Spencer*, 285, 286, 650.

^q *Tertullian*. *Apol.* c. 16. p. 157.

^r *Joseph.* *Antiq. Jud.* l. xii. c. 3, 4.

their Laws, and the Dignity of their Constitution. So thought *Moses*, when he said, Behold, I have taught you Statutes and Judgments, — keep therefore and do them : For this is your Wisdom and your Understanding in the Sight of the Nations ; which shall hear all these Statutes, and say, surely this great Nation is a wise and understanding People ^s. If this be Truth and Fact, (and no one can question it that believes the holy Scriptures) then undoubtedly the Nations all around *Judea* might be ambitious to learn from those, whose Wisdom they should so much admire : And it might be strongly argued from this single Text, that the Thing would be so of Course. However, this and the other Considerations before mention'd, may at least be sufficient to take off the first and principal Objection against the Thing in general. There are other slighter Objections, not so much affecting the main Cause, as the Management of it, or the Excesses some have run into, which may all be avoided by proper Cautions and Distinctions, and a just

^s *Deut.* iv. 5, 6.

Stating of the Case, which is what I am now coming to.

It may be admitted, that both Ancients and Moderns have sometimes extended the Comparison between Scripture and Pagan Philosophy too far, have imagined several Parallels where there really were none; as there is a great deal of Room for Fancy in such Cases, and it is very easy to exceed.

It may be allowed also, that some Moderns especially, otherwise great and learned Men, have often strained a Point too far, in endeavouring to deduce all the Heathen *Mythology* from Scripture History. *Huetius*, for Instance, to name no more, has undoubtedly exceeded in that Way, and has been justly censured for it by the more judicious ^t.

It may further be admitted, that such as have treated this Argument (whether Ancients or Moderns) have not always been careful to distinguish the several Channels by which revealed Light was conveyed to the Gentile World; or have not been content to rest in generals, when they might most safely

^t See Fabricius. Biblioth. Antiquar. p. 29. Eddensis. Analecta, p. 12, 13, 57, 71

and prudently have done it. That *supernatural* Notices, and *revealed* Light, were communicated, more or less, to the Bulk of Mankind, in every Age, is most certain, and uncontestable: But whether directly by *Scripture*, or by other more *oblique*, or more *remote* Means, may often admit of a Dispute. The Pagans might be instructed in divine Things, either by reading the *Scriptures*, or by conversing with *Jews*, or by conversing with other Nations that had been acquainted with *Jews*; or by Means of publick Edicts of several great *Princes* that had favoured the *Jews*; or lastly, by *Tradition* handed down to them from *Abraham*, or from *Noah*, or from the *first Parents* of Mankind. Now, since revealed Light, more or less, might break out upon the Pagan World, all these several Ways; it is not necessary, in every Case, to determine which Way it came; much less can it be necessary to believe that every Pagan *Philosopher* or *Poet* had seen the Holy *Scripture*, only because he had hit upon some Things consonant to *Scripture*, and such as probably were not owing to mere natural Light.

But to be a little more partitular, give me

leave to say something distinctly, of the several Channels of Conveyance before mention'd.

I. The first of them is undoubtedly the best and surest, *viz.* the Reading of the *Scriptures*. It is reasonable to believe, that such Philosophers as lived after Christianity became generally known, did improve their Philosophy, both religious and moral, from the Old and New Testament, or at least from what they had some Way or other learned of *Jews*, or *Christians*. Many of the junior Platonists, as *Numenius*, *Apuleius*, *Maximus Tyrius*, *Plotinus*, *Amelius*, *Porphry*, *Jamblichus*, *Hierocles* and *Proclus*, thus refined and improved their Theology from Christian Principles, in order to combat Christianity the more successfully, turning against her her own Artillery ^u. We may observe also (as has been often observed) that the Pagan *Morality* was much improved, after Christianity appeared; as may be seen by the Writings of *Seneca*, *Epicætetus*, *Plutarch*, and *Marcus Antoninus*: Which may be justly attribu-

^u See Baltus *Defense* dez SS. Peres. l. iv. c. 6. p. 475, &c. Gale's *Court of the Gentiles*. Part II. B. iii. c. 4.

ted either to their having had a Sight of the Holy Scriptures, or to their having learned something of the Principles and Manners of Christians, by Conversation with them, or from common Fame. There is a remarkable Letter of *Julian's*, which may give us a just Idea of this Matter, and of the Emulation raised among the Pagans, by the excellency of the Christian Morals, *.

II. To go a Step farther backwards, it is reasonable to think, that from the Time that the *Hebrew* Scriptures had been translated into *Greek*, either in *whole* or in *Part* (277 Years, at least, before *Christ*) I say, from that Time it is reasonable to think, that the Pagans improved their Theology and Morality, more or less, by them †. It has indeed been suggest-

* Julian. ad Arsacium Pontif. Galat. Epist. xlix. p 429. Edit. Lips.

† Ptolemæus Rex Ægypti — jussit conscribi, atque poni in Templum, ut venientibus de Achaia, atque aliis provinciis, Philosophis, Poetis, & Historiographis cupientibus, legendi copia non negaretur. Undè & maxime argumenta fumentes Philosophi, Poetæ, atque Historiographi, sicuti voluerunt, ad sua Paganitatis mendacia transfulerunt, aliisque nominibus rudes

suggested by a learned Writer, that even the *Greek Version* of the seventy, was altogether unknown to the learned Pagans for many Years after, or intirely neglected by them ^z. But his Reasonings on that Head are short of Proof, and have been, in a great Measure, confuted ^a; so that I need not say more of them.

III. I am next to observe, that tho' it were supposed that the Pagans never read the Scriptures, yet they might become acquainted, in some Degree, with the *Jewish* Doctrines, by conversing with *Jews* dispersed into distant Quarters. And if *Pythagoras*, or *Plato*, or *Aristotle*, or Others, learned something of the *Jewish* Theology or Morality this Way, it comes to the same Thing in the Main; for then they owed such Knowledge, in the last Resort, to divine Revelation.

rorum animos edocentes, legem Dei divinam irritam seculo facere properarunt, impietatisque semina in sono verborum, in periculosis Sententiis confirmarunt; quorum causâ dicebat & dominus, *Fures atque Latrones eos fuisse* in omnibus, atque ab omnibus cognoscendos. *Philast.* de Hæres. c. cxxxviii. p. 305. *conf.* Clem. Alex. 366, 368.

^z Hody. de Bibl. Text. p. 101.

^a See Bafnage's *Hist. of the Jews*. l. v. c. 6. S. 16. p. 417. l. vi. c. 5. S. 9 p. 490.

IV. But supposing that those or other Pagans had neither read the *Jewish* Scriptures, nor conversed directly with *Jews*; yet if they had conversed with *Egyptians*, or *Persians*, or *Phœnicians*, or *Chaldæans*, or others that had been before instructed by the *Hebrews*, they might in that Way come at the Knowledge of revealed Truths. The *Egyptians* had many Opportunities, at various Times, of imbibing the *Jewish* Principles, and adopting their Rites^b. The *Persians* also, especially from the Time of *Cyrus*, (536 Years before *Christ*) had, or might have had a competent Knowledge of the true God, and the true Religion from the *Jews*, and might communicate the same to others. Accordingly, some learned Men have thought that *Pythagoras* fetched his Knowledge of divine Things from thence, taking them from the *Magians*, and particularly from *Zoroastres*^c, that is, at second hand from the *Jews*. The *Phœnicians* likewise, being near Neighbours to the *Hebrews*, might learn

^b See Witsii *Ægyptiaca*, l. ii. c. 12. p. 261, — &c.

^c See Prideaux *Connect.* Part. i. B. iv. p. 228, 229.

many Things of them, and convey the same to the *Greeks*, or other Nations. And thus some learned Men account for what *Orpheus* and *Linus* may have written consonant to Scripture Doctrine ^d.

Add to this, that it has been generally the Method of divine Providence, from the Time that the *Jews* grew up to be a People, to notify the true God, and the true Religion by them, to the Princes and Potentates of the World, either in the very Capital of their Empire, as at *Nineveh*, *Babylon*, &c. or in such Place and Manner as should render the Thing most notorious. It cannot be doubted, but that the Fame of the true God and true Religion must have spread, that Way, over a great Part of the Gentile World. The several publick Edicts of *Artaxerxes* ^e, *Darius* ^f, *Cyrus* ^g, the elder *Darius* ^h and of *Nebuchad-*

^d Cum Phœnicibus vetus Atticæ incolis, Ionum antiquissimis, intercessisse commercium *Grotius* docuit. *Linum* à Phœnicæ venisse tradunt veteres : Et *Orpheus* sua à Phœnicibus hausit ; Phœnices ab *Hebræis*. Wits. *Ægypt.* p. 174. Vid. *Grot. de verit. Rel. Christian.* l. i. c. xvi. p. 32.

^e Ezra vii. 12, 13.

^f Ezra vi. 10.

^g Ezra i. 1, 2. Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23.

^h Dan. vi 25, 26.

*nezzar*ⁱ, makes the Supposition unquestionable^k; to say nothing of other Princes before and after them.

V. Another Channel of Conveyance was *Tradition* down from *Abraham*, who was the grand Restorer of true Religion, before sunk in *Chaldæa* (and perhaps in several other Places) and Father of many and great Nations. He has this Testimony given him by God himself, in *Genesis*. I know him, that he will command his Children and his Household after him: And they shall keep the Way of the Lord, to do Justice and Judgment^l. We want ancient History to inform us more particularly how Religion was scattered about the World by this Means; only we may be certain in the general, that so it was. If the whole Nation of the *Assyrians* were the Posterity of *Abraham*, so called from *Asburim*^m, descended from *Abraham* by *Keturah*, (as an ancient Writer

ⁱ Dan. iv. 1, 2. iii. 29.

^k See *Postscript to second Part of Scripture vindicated*, p. 145, &c

^l Gen. xviii. 19.

^m Gen. xxv. 3.

in *Josephus* ⁿ asserts, and a learned Modern ^o now lately has undertaken to maintain) we may then the more easily account for the quick Repentance of the *Ninevites*, upon the warning given them by a *single* Prophet of *Israel*, as well for their Manner of expressing their Repentance; not like *Idolaters*, but true Worshipers ^p: They had not altogether forgot the Religion of their Fathers. This, I say, may be a probable Account of that remarkable Affair; unless we chuse rather, as some do ^q, to resolve it all

ⁿ *Josep. . Antiq. Jud. Lib. i. c. xv. p. 44. Edit. Havercamp.*

^o *Joh. Frider. Schroecerus. Imperium Babylonis & Nini. cæst. ii. p. 105, &c.*

^p See *Jonah* iii. 5, 8, 9. *Matt.* xii. 41.

^q Etenim cum *Nineve* emporium fuerit per totum Orientem celeberrimum, & cum ipsis *Judeis* quoque Incolis ejus commercia intercefferint, Religionis *Judaicæ* profecto ignari esse non poterant. — Atque illud sane eo mihi sit verisimilius, quod *Jonæ* divinum iram annuntianti statim habuerint fideri, & ad ejus Præscriptum mores suos composuerint. Credidisse, si Religionem *Judaicam*, aut pro *incepta* habuissent, aut *salvâ*, aut nulla ejus imbuti fuissent notitia, eos virum *Judaicum* mandata numinis ad eos perferentem tam facile fuisse admissuros? Næ, qui illud asseruerit, indolem Hominum parum exploratam habet. *Budd. Parerga. p. 426. compare Loceth on Jon. iii. 3.*

into

into the Acquaintance they before had with the Nation of the *Jews*, and the awful Sense they were under of the many wonderful Works God had wrought for that People. But I proceed.

VI. There is yet another more general Way by which *revealed* Religion, in some of the principal Heads or Articles of it, has been diffused thro' the World; I mean *Tradition* delivered down from *Noah*, or from the *first Parents* of the whole Race, who received it immediately from God. The Doctrine of *one* true God *supreme*, might probably come this Way, and be so diffused to all Mankind^r. The like may be said of the Doctrine of an over-ruling *Providence*, and of the *Immortality* of the *Soul*, and a future State of *Rewards* and *Punishments*. These general Principles, so universally believed and taught in all Ages and Countries, are much better referred to

^r Discat ergo *Faustus*, vel potiùs illi qui ejus literis delectantur, *Monarchiæ* Opinionem non ex Gentibus nos habere; sed Gentes non usque adeo ad falsos Deos esse delapsas, ut Opinionem amitterent *unius veri Dei*, ex quo est omnis qualiscunque Natura. *Augustin. cont. Manich. Lib. xx. c. 19. p. 345.*

Patriarchal Tradition, than to any later and narrower Source^s. I know not whether the same Observation might not be as justly made of some other Doctrines; as of the *Creation* of the World^r, and *Corruption* of human *Nature*^u, and perhaps of several more of slighter Consideration.

Besides *Doctrines*, there have been common *Rites* and Customs derived very probably from the same general Source, because widely (or in a manner universally)

* Certum est multos Ritus & Traditiones Ethnorum longe antiquiores esse ecclesiâ *Judaicâ*, ideoque à *Judeis* eos hæc non desumpisse sed potius à *communî Ente*, nempe à *Patriarchis*; quorum multi, ut *Terachus* Abrahami Pater, in Idolatriam degenerârunt. Nihilominus multas retinuerunt *Traditiones laudabiles*: Ut de uno *Deo* ceteri omnibus superiore, de immortalitate Animarum, & de *judicio* post mortem secuturo, ac de *Virtute Heroica*. Has Traditiones multo probabilius esse videtur eas ab antiquissimis Patriarchis, *Japheti*, *Chami*, imo & *Semi* Posteris idololatricis accepisse, quàm à *Judeis*. Antiquissima *Ægyptiorum* & *Romanorum* Tempia sine *Imaginibus* fuere: *Decimas* Cæsaribus datas fuisse constat ex *Dion. Halicarnassensi*. Cumberland. Origin. Antiq. p. 451. Conf. *Witsii* *Ægyptiaca*. l. ii. c. 15.

† Vid. *Witsii* *Ægyptiaca*. p. 170, — 174.

Grotius de verit. R. Ch. l. i. c. 16.

‡ Vid. Buddei *Selecta juris N. & Gent.* p. 242, — 244. Huetii *Quæst. Alnet.* l. ii. c. ix. p. 165.

spread among Mankind; such as the Custom of *Sacrifices*, and of some Regard paid to one Day in *seven*, and of dedicating a *Tenth*, or *Tithe* to God.

That *Sacrifices* were a Part of the Patriarchal Religion, not owing to *human* Invention, but to *divine* Appointment, has been so often and so strongly argued, and the Pretences to the contrary, so fully and so justly exploded *, that there remains but little Room for Dispute upon that Head.

As to the Sacredness of the *Seventh* Day, there appear Footsteps of it among the earliest Nations; tho' the Reason of the Thing was not sufficiently understood by the Gentiles in later Times. *Aristobulus* †,

* *Vid.* Johann. Meyer. Diatribe de Festis c. i. per tot.

Sam. Basnag. exercit. Historico-crit. p. 676.

Buddei Select. juris Nat. p. 231, &c. Eccles. Apostol. p. 141.

Carpzovii Introduct. ad Libr. Bibl. Par. I. p. 111, &c.

Frid. Bucheri Antiq. Bibl. p. 388.

Shuckford's *Sacred and Profane Hist.* Vol. I. p. 79, &c.

† *Aristobulus apud* Euseb. Præp. Evan. Lib. xiii, c. 12. p. 667.

Philos., *Josephus*^a take Notice of the *Universality* of the Notion and Practice, and it is by them made use of, as an Argument to show, how the Pagans had borrowed from the *Hebrews*. They might better have said, how *Both* had borrowed from the same common Fountain of *Patriarchal* Tradition. And this will be the best Way of compromising the Dispute between such Moderns as pretend that the *Hebrews* borrowed the Custom of reckoning Time by *Weeks* from the *Egyptians*^b, and those on the other Hand, who say, with more Probability, that the *Egyptians* borrowed it from the *Hebrews*^c. The Truth seems to be, that neither borrowed from each other,

^a Philo. de Vir. Mos. Lib. ii. p. 656, 657. De Mund. Opif. c. 25. —

^b Οὐδ' ἔτι καὶ πάλιν Ἑλλήνων ἠδ' ἐπισημῶν, ὅτε βασιλεύοντες, ὅτε ἱερεῖς, ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας ἀριθμοῦσιν, ἐν ἀρχαῖς καὶ νῦν, το ἐκείνῃ καὶ τῇ νῦν ἀρχῇ. Joseph. contr. Apion. l. ii. c. 39. p. 477.

^c Joseph. Antich. ad. Autol. l. ii. c. 17. p. 134.

^d Chron. Max. Strom. v. p. 713.

^e Mose. l. Gen. Chron. Sect. ix.

^f Joseph. l. de Heb. l. i. c. v. p. 73, 74.

^g Joseph. l. de Heb. c. v. p. 105.

^h T. T. l. 2. c. 211, 242.

in this particular, but that Both of them drew from the same common Original, Patriarchal Tradition ^d.

I mentioned a third Article, near akin to the other, and probably coeval with it, namely, that of paying a *Tithe* to God. I shall account for it in the Words of the learned Dean *Prideaux*, who had well considered it, and was very able to judge of it. He says thus:

“ A *seventh* Part of our Time having,
“ from the Beginning of the World, been
“ consecrated by God himself, to his publick
“ Worship; from that Time there was
“ a Necessity of consecrating also a Part
“ of our Substance for the Support there-

^c Per accuratius pensata, haud difficulter intelligimus, non nullam ab *Aegyptiis*, ut *Herodotus* asserit, sed ab *Ebraeis* illamque *magis*, ut, *quoniam patribus Patriarchis* quibus haecce Legem positivè promulgaverat Deus, notitiam ejus ad omnes diffundisse Gent. — *At* enim suffragari nequeo, qui Antiquitatem quae afferri solent Testimonia de *Septimo Die* post Lunæ ortum, aut die Apollini in Fallis sacro, capiunt. — Bald. Select. p. 235.

For as to all the more of this Matter, may consult Grotius de Verit. Rel. Chr. l. i. c. 16. p. 41.

Selden. de Jur. Nat. & Gent. l. iii. c. 15. — 23.

Huet. Dem. Evang. Prop. iv. c. xi. p. 126.

“ of s. — I doubt not, from the Begin-
 “ ning such a certain Part was, by the
 “ first Parents of Mankind, consecrated to
 “ this Purpose t. — And if we consider
 “ of how general a Practice the Payment
 “ of Tithes anciently was, amongst most
 “ Nations of the Earth, for the Support
 “ of the Worship of those Gods they
 “ adored, and the many Instances we have
 “ of this Usage among the *Syrians, Phæ-*
 “ *nicians, Arabians, Ethiopians, Greeks,*
 “ *Romans,* and other Nations; there is
 “ no other rational Account to be given
 “ how so many different People of *vari-*
 “ *ous Languages,* and *various Customs* from
 “ each other, and who also worshipped
 “ *various Deities,* should all come to agree
 “ so exactly in this one Matter; but that
 “ it had been an ancient Institution, *ju-*
 “ *stly* observed by the *first Fathers* of
 “ Mankind, and after the Flood trans-
 “ mitted by them in a lasting *Tradition*
 “ to the Nations descended from them g.”

Thus

* P. 11. c. 10. — *On the Right of Tithe* p. 11.

f. P. 11. c. 10.

g. *See the Appendix to the Liberty of the Press, for*
 Selden

Thus far that judicious Writer, who further intimates, that the Patriarchs, probably, had a *divine* Direction for fixing upon that Proportion of their Substance, and for settling the Rule.

What has been observed of the *Theology* and *Rituals* derived down by Tradition, may, in a great Measure be applied to *Morals* also : For there can be no reasonable Doubt made, but that the soundest and best Part of the Pagan *Ethicks* came down to them in the same Way, and so were remotely owing to *divine Revelation*, as hath been sufficiently argued both by *Ancients*ⁱ and *Moderns*^k, and I need not repeat.

The Sum then of all is this ; That the Gentile World, before *Christ* came, had, at sundry Times, and in divers Manners,

Selden of *Tithes*. chap. iii.

Spencer de Leg. Hebr. l. iii. c. 10. p. 720, &c.

Huet. Quest. Alnet. l. iii. c. 3. p. 322, &c.

ⁱ Clem. Alex. Eusebius.

^k Jenkins's *Reasonableness*. Vol. I. p. 376.

Nicolls confer. Par. II. p. 164.

Gal's *Court of the Gentiles*. Book I. p. 15. Book ii. p. 88, &c.

Postscript to second Part of Scripture vindicated. p. 152.

some Beams of divine Light sent them from above, to help the Dimness of the Light of Nature. And what thro' *Scripture*, or *Tradition*, what by direct or indirect Conveyances, they were never intirely destitute of supernatural Notices, never left to the mere *Light of Nature*, either for forming a Knowledge of God and Religion, or for directing their Life and Manners. It remains now only to draw a few Corollaries from what has been here advanced.

I. From hence may be observed, upon how precarious a Bottom the Unbelievers of our Times have built their Notion of the *Sufficiency* of natural Light. They plead that it is sufficient, because the Bulk of Mankind, for many Ages formerly, had *nothing else*: A manifest Errour in Point of *Fact*, and for which they have not so much as the Appearance of *Proof*.

If it be said, (tho' it is saying wrong) that We ought to prove the *Affirmative*, I have endeavoured to show how far we can go towards it. But the Truth is, They ought to prove the *Negative*, since they
rest

rest their Cause upon it, and have little else to support it. If it appears but probable, or possible that the Bulk of Mankind should have been instructed in such a Way as I have been mentioning, That is enough for us: But they that build the *Sufficiency* of natural Light upon this Supposition, that Mankind from the Creation, for the most Part, had *no other Light* but That, must either prove that they *had not*, or they do nothing. They must either make good their *Premises*, or give up their *Conclusion*. If they build upon a *Negative*, they must *prove the Negative*, or they'll be found to build upon the Sand.

II. It may next be observed, that the Infidels of our Days, in setting up *Natural* Light to rival *Supernatural*, commit the same Errour as the Pagans of old did. All that they have to boast of, as demonstrable now by natural Light, was, very probably, discovered first by *Revelation*: And it is both ungrateful and unreasonable to oppose Revelation with what has been *borrowed* from it. But that is
not

not the worst of the Case: For Revelation once set aside, the Result will be (as it ever used to be) the taking up with a *Part* of Religion, and a Part of Morality, instead of the *Whole*, and then corrupting even that *Part* with *adulterous* Mixtures. Natural Light cannot *demonstrate* all that revealed Light has discovered, either of *Religion* it self, or the *Sanctions* of it: Besides, natural Reason, left to it self, will undoubtedly bring in many Corruptions, as past Experience sufficiently testifies: And it is certain, that the Wisdom of *Man* will never come up to the Purity or Perfection of the Wisdom of *God*. Men will not, if they could, neither can they, if they would, carve out so pure a Religion for themselves, as God, in the Holy Scriptures, has carved out for them.

III. But I must further observe, that our modern Unbelievers are in one Point very singular, and come far short in that Article, of the Sagacity and good Sense of their Pagan Predecessors. None of the ancient Unbelievers ever pretended to set
up

up the mere Wisdom of Man, as such, to the Wisdom of God; never thought that *Revelations* were either not desirable, or that they were altogether *needless*, or *useless*. They generally pretended to Revelation, of one Kind or other, and were not so weak as to imagine that their *natural* Parts or Endowments were sufficient to supersede all use of *Supernatural* Notices, if such might be had. The common Reason of mankind would have strongly remonstrated against such a Plea; and it would have been thought betraying any Cause, to make use of it. For to pretend to believe that there is a *God*, and a *Providence*, and a *future State*, and at the same Time to desire no external Revelation from God, no Instructions from Heaven, (as needing none, and being wise enough without any) is so wild and so extravagant a Thought, that nothing can match it, or compare with it. But such will commonly be the Fate of attempting any *new* Ways of *opposing* divine Revelation, as well as of *defending* it; because indeed the best in each Kind have been long since anticipated: And both *Believers* and *Unbelievers* must now be content with traversing over

G

again

again the same *beaten* Tracks, or they will take into worse, and will but expose their Cause, instead of serving it.

IV. I shall conclude therefore with recommending to you, my Reverend Brethren, the old and well tried Principles of the *ancient* Apologists. They never had a Thought that all revealed Religion had been confined, for so many Ages past, to the *Jews* only: But they looked upon the *Jews* as the Proclaimers and Publishers of true Religion to the rest of the World. The *Israelites* were a *Kingdom of Priests*, an *holy Nation* ^h. They were made the Preachers of Righteousness to other Nations in order to convey the main Substantials of Religion all over the World; as is more than once intimated in Scripture it self ⁱ. It is in this View, that the ancient *Apolo-*
gists, both *Jews* and *Christians*, considered this Matter. *Josephus* therefore observes, that *Like as the divine Being pervades the*

^h Exod. xix. 6.

ⁱ See the Texts to this Purpose, cited in Jenkin's Reasonableness, &c. Vol. I. and in the *Postscript to Scripture vindicated*. Part. II. p. 143, 147.

whole Universe, so the divine Law (given by Moses) passes thro' all Mankind^k.

Of the same Mind was Theophilus Bishop of Antioch, of the second Century; who says, *Moses, the Servant of God, was the Proclaimer (Minister) of the divine Law, to all the World, but principally to the Hebrews, otherwise called Jews*^l.

To the same Purpose speaks Origen of the next Century: *Moses's Writings have brought many to the Faith, even among those that were Aliens from the Commonwealth of Israel: Because indeed the original Lawgiver, who deliver'd his Laws to Moses, was no other than God himself, the Creator of the Universe, as the same Writings testify. And it was meet, that the Maker of all the World, giving Laws to*

^k Καὶ ὥτῃς ὁ Θεὸς διὰ παντὸς τὸ κόσμον πεποιήκει, ὅτως ὁ νόμος διὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων βεβαίωκε. Joseph. contr. Apion. l. ii. c. 39. p. 494. Conf. Phil. de vit. Mos. l. i. p. 603.

^l Τάτῃ μὲν ἂν τὸ Θεῖον νόμον διάκονος γενήσῃ Μωϋσῆς, ὁ καὶ θεράπων τοῦ Θεοῦ, παντὶ μὲν τῷ κόσμῳ, πανήλως δὲ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις, τοῖς καὶ Ἰσθαίοις καλεωμένοις. Theoph. l. iii. c. 8. p. 308 conf. c. x. p. 312.

all the World, should send such Efficacy along with them, as should work its Way among all Nations ^m.

Atbanasius, of the following Century, expresses the same Thought, in Terms still clearer, and, if possible, stronger.

The Law was not intended for the Jews only, neither were the Prophets sent only for their Sakes: But the Prophets were sent to the Jews, and were persecuted also by the Jews, while they were in reality a Kind of sacred School to all the World, as to what relates to the Knowledge of God, and the Concerns of the Soul ⁿ.

I shall add but one Writer more, the judicious *Theodoret*, of the fifth Century, who, speaking of the *Jews*, says, *God cr-*
dained

^m Τῷ ᾧ Μωσίων· τὰ γράμματα πολλὰς καὶ ἑτέρας ἀλλοτριῶν
τῶν ἁγίων τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀναστρεφθεῖς κενόηκε πεισεῦσθαι, ὅτι, καὶ
τῷ ἱεραρχίᾳ τῶν ἱεραρχούντων, ὁ πρῶτος αὐτὰ νομοθετήσας,
καὶ Μωσὶς ἁγιοποιήσας, Θεὸς ὁ κτίσας τὸν κόσμον ἦν. Καὶ γὰρ
ἔπρεπε τὸν ἕνα τὸν κόσμον δημιουργόν, νόμους τεθειμένον ὅλην
τὴν κόσμον, δύναμιν ἁγιοποιεῖν τοῖς λόγοις, κρατῆσαι τῶν πανταρχῶν
ἀναμάρτη. Orig. cont. Cels. l. i. p. 15.

ⁿ Οἷός ἐστι διὰ Ἰουδαίους μόνους ὁ νόμος ἦν, ἐδὲ οἱ αὐτοὺς
μόνοι οἱ προεβήθη ἐπέμποιον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους μὴ ἐπέμπον-

dained this Nation, to be a Guide to all Nations in divine Knowledge. For like as he appointed sometimes Moses, and at other times Joshua, and then Samuel, and afterwards one or other of the Prophets, to take the Charge of this People, and by a single Man, of approved Wisdom, benefited the whole Brotherhood: So by the single Nation of Israel did God vouchsafe to call all Nations, Partakers of one common Nature, to become Partners also in the same common Religion °.

From hence may be clearly seen what the current Notion was among the ancient most judicious Advocates for divine Revelation; namely, that tho' the Law of *Moses* was in a peculiar Manner designed for one

το, καὶ αὐτὰ Ἰσρααίτων ἐθνώκετο· πάσης ὃ τ' εὐκέρμης ἦσαν δι-
δακταλὸν ἱερὸν τ' αἰεὶ Θεῷ γνώσεως, καὶ τ' κατὰ ψυχὴν πο-
λιτείας. Athen. contr. Gent. c. xii. p. 57. Ed. Bened.

ο τῶν ᾧ ἐθνῶν ἀπάντων τῷ τοῦ ἐθιμοθρησκείας ἐχει-
ροτόνοι διδάσκαλοι. Καὶ κατὰπερ εἰς τὰδε τ' ἔθνη ἐπιμέ-
λειαν, οὐ μὴ ἐξελίξαι τὸν Μαῦσιν, οὐ καὶ τὸν Ἰσάκ, καὶ πάλιν
τοῖς Σαυμὴλ, ἀλλοτρεῖ ὃ ἄλλοι τ' περὶ τῶν, καὶ δι' ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου
φιλοσοφίαν ἀπεκρίθη, ἅπαντας ἐνεργεῖται τὴς ἐμοφύλης· ἔγω
οὐκ ἐνὸς ἔθνος τ' Ἰσραὴλ, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τὰ τ' αὐτὴν ἔχοντα φύσιν,
εἰς τ' ἐνσεβείας κοινωρίαν ἰκάλει. Theodor. de Provid. Serm.
x. p. 454. *cons.* p. 456.

People,

People, (because the select Preachers of Righteousness, the Ministers or Publishers of Religion, were to be kept a distinct Order of Men from the rest) yet the most necessary Points of revealed Religion, which concerned Mankind in general, were to be communicated, more or less, to all the World, and that by means of the *Jews*, after they grew up to be considerable. Other Nations or Persons, ordinarily, were not obliged to become *Jews*: And therefore *Moses* did not insist upon it with his Father-in-Law *Jethro*; neither did *Elisha* expect it of *Naaman* the *Syrian*, nor *Jonas* of the *Ninevites*, nor *Daniel* of *Nebuchadnezzar*; neither did the Prophets insist upon it with the *Chaldeans*, *Egyptians*, *Sidonians*, *Tyrians*, *Edomites*, or *Moabites*; as *Grotius* has well observed ^F: But tho' they were not obliged to become *Jews*, they were obliged to admit the *true* God, and the most *substantial* Parts of true Religion; the Knowledge of which had been handed down by *Tradition*, and was often renewed and revived

^F *Grotius de Jur. N. & G. l. i. c. i. §. 16.*

Grot. de verit. R. Chr. l. v. c. 7.

ed by means of the *Jews*, who were the standing Witnesses and Memorials of it.

The Consideration of these Things, may, I conceive, be of good Use for the preserving just and worthy Ideas of the divine Wisdom and Goodness in his Dispensations towards Mankind, and for the more effectual

The Words of *Clemens of Rome* (an Apostolical Man) are so just, and so moderate, and so proper to compose all Contests on this Head, that they are well worth the quoting in this Place.

Ἀτενίσσασθαι εἰς τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἰδαίμεν ὡς ἔστι τίμιον τὸ Θεοῦ αἷμα αὐτοῦ, ὃ, τι διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας ἐκχυρὲν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ μετανόιας χάριν ὑπένειγκεν. Ανέλθωμεν εἰς τὰς γενεάς πάσαι, καὶ καταμάθωμεν, ὅτι ἐν γενεᾷ καὶ γενεᾷ, μετανόιας τόπον ἔδωκεν ὁ θεωπότης τοῖς βηλομένοις ἐπιστραφῆναι ἐπ' αὐτόν. Νῶε ἐκέλευξεν μετάνοιαν, καὶ οἱ ὑπακούσαντες, ἐσώθησαν. Ἰωάνης Νινευίταις κατατροφὸν ἐκέλευξεν, οἱ δὲ μετανόησαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν αὐτῶν, ἐξήλασαντο τὸν Θεὸν ἰκετεύσαντες, καὶ ἔλαβον σωτηρίαν, καίπερ ἀλλότριοι τοῦ Θεοῦ ὄντες. Clem. Rom. Epist. i. c. vii. p. 32.

Which may be englished thus.

“ Let us look up stedfastly to the Blood of *Christ*, and
 “ and let us consider how precious in God's Sight his Blood
 “ is, which being shed for our *Salvation*, hath obtained
 “ the Privilege of Repentance for all the World. Run
 “ we back to all past Ages, and there we may learn, that
 “ in every Age the Lord gave Place for Repentance to as
 “ many

al silencing the Ignorant, or malicious Cavils of Unbelievers.

To be short: Our Adversaries can never prove that Revelation was *needless*, unless they could first prove that there has been no *Revelation*; because they cannot know what natural Light could have done without it unless they could first show that it ever was without it. Revelation might, for any Thing they can tell, have been absolutely necessary to *discover*, even that *natural Religion* which they plead for, and which appears so easy and obvious to the Understanding,

“ many as would turn to him. *Nab* preached up Repentance, and they that hearkened unto him were saved. *Nab* denounced Destruction against the *Nine-cities*, and they repenting of their Sins and praying, appeared God, and were saved, tho’ Aliens from God.

I may hereupon remark as follows:

I. That as many as are saved upon their *Repentance*, are yet saved by and thro’ the *Blood of Christ*. Repentance is the *conditional Cause* of it, *Christ’s Death* the *efficacious and meritorious*.

II. That such Privilege of being saved, upon true Repentance, thro’ *Christ*, was not confined to the *Jews* only, but was extended to all Mankind, in all Ages, according to *Clemens*.

now

now it has been discovered. But if Revelation was ever *needful* for that Purpose, then, by the tacit Confession even of our Adversaries, it must be *true*; and if it be *true*, then we are obliged to embrace the *whole* of it as God has given it us, and not a *Part* only, according to every Man's Judgment or Fancy; which is what these Gentlemen seem to be aiming at under all their Disguises.

However that be, They have certainly taken the wrong Way to come at their Point, have committed an ὑπερον πρότερον in their main Argument; pretending to disprove a Fact, by arguing that the Thing was *needless*, when there is no possible Way of proving the Thing *needless*, but by first disproving the Fact.

F I N I S.



*An additional Illustration to Note^d
p. 43. from Archbishop Sharpe,
Vol. IV. Serm. xii. p. 272, 273.
relating to the traditional Compu-
tation of Time by Weeks.*

“ **W**HAT Account can be given of
“ *all the World's* computing their
“ Time by *Weeks*; that is counting *seven*
“ *Days*, and then Beginning again: I say,
“ what possible Account can be given of This,
“ but that original Distribution of Time
“ that God had observed in the Works of
“ the Creation, and had delivered to the *first*
“ *Parents* of Mankind, and they to their
“ Children. For Men to reckon Time by
“ *Days* and *Nights*, is obvious to Sense;
“ nay, and to compute Time by *Months* and
“ *Years*

“ *Years* hath a sufficient Foundation in it
 “ from Nature; for Mankind cannot avoid
 “ the observing the Course of the *Moon*, and
 “ of the *Sun*, which makes *Months* and
 “ *Years*: But why they should count *seven*
 “ *Days* and then begin again, *That* hath no
 “ Foundation in Nature, but must be taught
 “ them from the *Tradition* of their Fa-
 “ thers, which could have no other Original
 “ than that which I am now insisting on.
 “ And yet this Way of computing Time
 “ by a *weekly* Revolution, obtain’d through-
 “ out all the World, as far as we can judge,
 “ from the very Beginning of Time. That
 “ the *Patriarchs* did so some hundreds of
 “ Years before the Law of the *Sabbath* was
 “ given to the Children of *Israel*, we have
 “ sufficient Evidence from sundry Texts of
 “ Scripture. That all the ancient Nations
 “ of which we have any History, *Egypti-*
 “ *ans*, *Chaldeans*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, nay, and
 “ the *barbarous* Nations too; I say, that they
 “ did so likewise, is proved to us from the
 “ ancientest Records that are extant about
 “ them. This Practice now, that had no
 “ Foundation in Nature, obtaining thus uni-

“ versally throughout the whole Word, and
 “ that from Time immemorial, is to me a
 “ Demonstration that they had it from the
 “ *first Parents* of Mankind, and that it was
 “ founded in God’s Institution of the *seventh*
 “ Day being set apart for his Service.

“ I do grant indeed, they did not know
 “ the true Reason why they thus count-
 “ ed their Days by *sevens*: For the Tra-
 “ dition of the *Creation* of the World,
 “ and the Institution of the *Sabbath*, was
 “ in Time and by Degrees lost among them.
 “ But yet thus still they computed their
 “ Time: And we that have the Holy Scrip-
 “ tures, know upon what Grounds that
 “ Computation was begun.

*What Dr. Williams also has, upon the
 same Argument, in his Second Sermon of
 his first Year’s Course of Boyle’s Lectures,
 is well worth the perusing, p. 23, &c.*



*An additional Note to p. 56. From
Dr. Sherlock's Discourse on the
Knowledge of Christ, p. 19, 20,
21.*

“ **G**OD chose the Posterity of *Abra-*
“ *ham* to be a *publick* and constant
“ Demonstration of his Power, and Provi-
“ dence, and Care of good Men. For when
“ God chose the Posterity of *Abraham* to
“ be his peculiar People, He did not Design to
“ *exclude* the rest of the World from his Care
“ and Providence, and all possible Means of
“ Salvation; as the Apostles argues in *Rom.*
“ *iii. 29.* Is he the God of the Jews
“ only? Is he not also of the Gentiles?
“ Yes, of the Gentiles also. Which Ar-
“ gument, if it have any Force in it, must
“ prove God's respecting the *Gentiles* before
“ the Preaching of the Gospel, as well as
“ since;

“ since; because it is founded on that *natural*
 “ *Relation* which God owns to all Man-
 “ kind, as their merciful Creator and Gover-
 “ nor; which gives the Gentiles as well as
 “ *Jews*, an Interest in his Care and Provi-
 “ dence.

“ This plainly evinces, that all those par-
 “ ticular Favours which God bestowed on
 “ *Israel*, where not owing to any *partial*
 “ Fondness and Respect to that People; But
 “ the Design of all was, to encourage the
 “ *whole World* to worship the *God of Israel*,
 “ who gave so many Demonstrations of his
 “ Power and Providence. For this Reason
 “ God brought *Israel* out of *Egypt*, with
 “ *great Signs* and *Wonders*, and a *mighty*
 “ *Hand* (when He could have done it with
 “ less Noise and Observation) that He might
 “ the more gloriously triumph over the nu-
 “ merous *Gods of Egypt*, and all their *En-*
 “ *chantments* and *Divinations*, and that he
 “ might be honoured on *Pharaoh* and all
 “ his Host. For this Reason he maintained
 “ them in the Wilderness at the constant
 “ Expence of *Miracles*, fought all their Bat-
 “ tles for them; and many Times by weak
 “ and contemptible Means overthrew great
 “ and

“ and puissant Armies, drove out the Inha-
 “ bitants of *Canaan*, and gave them Pos-
 “ session of that Good Land. I say, one
 “ great and principal Design of all this was,
 “ to convince *the World* of the Majesty and
 “ Power of the *God of Israel*, that they
 “ might renounce their foolish *Idolatries*
 “ and Country *Gods*, and consent in the
 “ Worship of that *one God*, who alone doth
 “ wondrous Things. This Account the *Psal-*
 “ *mist* gives of it, that God wrought such
 “ visible and miraculous Deliverances for
 “ *Israel*, to make his Glory and his Power
 “ known among the *Heathen*: *The Lord*
 “ hath made known his Salvation, his
 “ Righteousness hath he openly shew’d in
 “ the Sight of the Heathen. *Psal.* xcvi.
 “ 2. That the Heathen might fear the
 “ Name of the Lord, and all the Kings
 “ of the Earth his Glory: i. e. *That all*
 “ *Nations might worship God, and all Kings*
 “ *submit their Crowns and Scepters to him.*
 “ Psalm. cii. 15. That by this Means they
 “ might be instructed in that important
 “ Truth: That the Lord is great, and
 “ greatly to be praised, that he is to be
 “ feared above all Gods: For all the
 “ Gods

“ Gods of the Nations are Idols, but
 “ He made the Heavens. *Psal. xcvi.*
 “ And as God set up the People of *Israel*,
 “ as a visible Démonstration to all the
 “ World of his Power and Providence, so
 “ he committed his *Laws and Oracles* to
 “ Them; from whence *the rest of the Word*,
 “ when they pleased, might fetch the best
 “ Rules of Life, and the most certain
 “ Notices of the divine Will. In such ways
 “ God instructed *The World*, in former Ages;
 “ by the *Light of Nature*, and the *Exam-*
 “ *ples of good Men*, and the *Sermons of the*
 “ *Prophets*, and the publick Example of a
 “ *whole Nation*, which God chose for that
 “ Purpose.





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